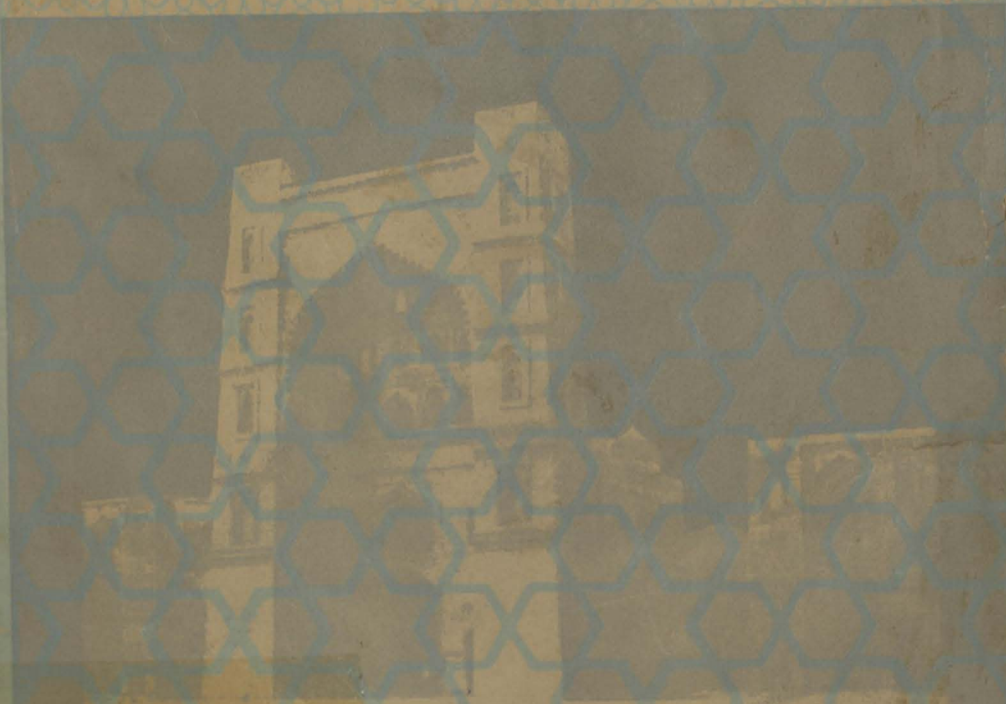
THE SHARQI SULTANATE OF JAUNPUR

A Political & Cultural History



MIAN MUHAMMAD SAEED

with a Preface by Professor A. L. Basham

University of Karachi

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by

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TUCSON, ARIZONA

with

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UNIVERSITY OF KARACHI

PAKISTAN

Published by
The Director of Publications, University of Karachi,
under the authority of the University.

FIRST PUBLISHED
1972

PRINTED IN PAKISTAN
AT
THE INTER SERVICES PRESS LIMITED, KARACHI-4

DEDICATION

To the Sweet Memories of

My Mother,

the Late Karam Bibi,

My Father,

the Late Hakim Muhammad 'Abdullah,

and My Eldest Brother,

the Late 'Abdur Rashid

PREFACE

In the study of the history of the Muslims in India much attention has been paid to the activities of the Sultans of Delhi and of their successors, the Mughul emperors. Fewer scholarly studies have been made of the numerous so-called "provincial" Muslim Sultanates, which contributed as much as or perhaps more to the development of Islamic culture in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent than did the rulers of Delhi and Agra. The rulers of these regional Sultanates, cut off politically from the main centre of Muslim power in India, and often at war with their former overlords, were compelled to come to terms with local cultures and with indigenous traditions in a way which the greater Sultans and padshahs scarcely needed to do. Thus we often find them patronising the literature of the local languages, and encouraging schools of art and architecture which were appreciably influenced by local Hindu traditions.

One such Sultanate was that of Jaunpur. This is now a small town, about thirty-five miles from Banaras, but in the fifteenth century it was the capital of an important kingdom which controlled much of what is now Bihar and eastern U.P. Its founder, the eunuch Governor Malik Sarwar, succeeded in establishing himself as an independent ruler in the time of the decline and fall of the Tughluq dynasty, and his successors built up a powerful kingdom whose strength was felt as far afield as Orissa. Its greatness lasted for less than one hundred years, but in that time it made a very significant impression upon the life and culture of the region which its Sultan governed. The remains of splendid mosques and other buildings erected by the Sharqi

Sultans are still to be seen, and many important Muslim scholars and religious teachers found patronage at their courts. Most of the Sharqi rulers were tolerant of other faiths, and their Hindu subjects flourished under their rule. Controlling as they did the most holy city of Hinduism they could not but come to terms with the religion of the majority of their people. The interplay of Islam and Hinduism produced among other teachers Kabir, one of the greatest religious poets of India, who clearly reflects in his verses the tolerance and mutual respect which the regime of the Sharqis encouraged.

It gives me much pleasure to introduce the work of my friend, Dr. M. M. Saeed, to the world. He has produced a sound and comprehensive study of this very important Sultanate, which has generally been inadequately treated by earlier writers on Muslim India. His work is written with scholarly thoroughness and evident sympathy for his theme. It forms a really important contribution to our knowledge of the period, and I commend it to all students of Mediaeval India.

Canberra, 1969 A. L. BASHAM

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THOUGH it is impossible to acknowledge adequately what I owe to them, I wish to thank Professor A. L. Basham, formerly Professor of South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, now Professor of Asian Civilization, School of General Studies, The Australian National University, and Professor Riazul Islam, formerly Senior Fellow, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, now Head, Department of General History, University of Karachi, for their unfailing and keen interest, courtesy, and illuminating guidance, which encouraged me to bring this work to a successful close and to have it published.

I am also greatly indebted to Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Professor, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, for his valuable suggestions in clarifying many problems of Indo-Pakistan Muslim History.

I am deeply grateful to Miss Sophia Kritzinger, M.A. (Stell.), from Paarl, South Africa, for her interest in my work while she was a post-graduate student (1963-64) at the University of London Institute of Education. She very kindly read my manuscript and suggested invaluable improvements.

I can not fail to record my gratitude to my mother, the late Karam Bibi, my father *Afsar-u'l-Itibba*, the late Hakim Muhammad 'Abdullah, my eldest brother, the late 'Abdur Rashid, my uncle, Haji Pir Muhammad, my brother-in-law the late Hakim Faqir Muhammad, and my teachers, Professor Hamid Ahmad Khan, *Ex*-Principal, Islamia College, Lahore, and *Ex*-Vice-Chancellor, University of the Panjab, Lahore, Professor 'Ilm-u'd-din Salik, *Ex*-Vice-Principal, Islamia College,

Lahore, Professor Sayyid Viqar 'Azim, Professor of Ghalib Studies, Oriental College, University of the Panjab, Lahore, Professor Sayyid M. 'Abdullah, *Ex*-Principal, Oriental College, University of the Panjab, Lahore, Professor Ebadat Brelvi, Principal, Oriental College, University of the Panjab, Lahore, Professor Abu Lais Siddiqi, Head, Department of Urdu, University of Karachi, the late Agha Muhammed 'Ali, Lecturer in Archaeology, University of the Panjab, Lahore, and Assistant Curator, Central Museum, Lahore, Professor Fayyaz-u'd-Din, Head, Department of History, Government College, Lahore, the late Professor Shuja'-u'd-din, Head, Department of History, Dayal Singh College, Lahore, and the late Shaikh Fazl Ahmad Naqshbandi Mujaddidi who encouraged me to start this work and who always gave me moral support.

I am also grateful to my friends Mr. Muhmmad Siddiq Javed, Moulavi Muhamad Din, Moulavi Muhammad Hasan Naqshbandi Mujaddidi, Dr. Aziz Mansoor Bajwa, Chaudhary M. Nasim Bajwa, Mr. Muhammad Zahur, Professor Niaz Erfan, Mr. M. Saeed Khan, Mr. Munir Ahmad Bhatty, Khwaja M. Habib Ullah, Professor M. Rafi', Mr. Ghulam Mustafa, Mr. Mahmud Ahmad, Hakim M. Ajmal, Professor Na'im Hayat Qureshi, Professor S. Shakil Akhtar Hashmi, Dr. Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, Mr. Saif Ullah Javed, Professor M. Jamil, Dr. Ikram Ahmed Butt, Dr. G. N. Saqib, Dr. Ludwig W. Adamec, and Professor Earl H. Pritchard, who helped me in many ways in my work.

Finally I must once again thank my revered Professor Riazul Islam, for his kindness in reading my manuscript and making valuable suggestions, as well as supervising its publication. I am also indebted to my friend Mr. M. Saleem Ahmad, Senior Research Officer, Archives of Freedom Movement Department of Karachi University, for his assistance in checking errors and going through the proofs.

I am also obliged to the library staffs of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, the India Office Library, London, and the British Museum, London, for their assistance.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used:

bh	بھ	h	ہ	gh	غ	Z	ذ	a	ا
ph	پھ	i	ی	f	ف	R	ر	b	ب
th	تھ	e	ے	q	ق	Z	ز	p	پ
Jh	جھ			k	ک	S	س	t	ت
Chh	چھ			g	گ	Sh	ش	s	ث
dh	دھ			L	ل	S	ص	j	ج
Kh	کھ			M	م	Z	ض	ch	چ
gh	گھ			N	ن	t	ط	h	ح
				W	و	Z	ظ	kh	خ
				'	ء	'	ع	d	د

The nearest Persian equivalent sign has been taken to stand for the Hindi sounds to keep the transliteration within certain limits. Both short and long vowels have been transliterated as a, u, and i without any diacritical marks; words which have found their way into the English language have not been transliterated.

Names of places have been spelt in the manner in which they are familiar to students of the history and geography of the subcontinent. Unfamiliar names have been transliterated.

Uniformity has been observed in the transliteration of the names of persons. The names of persons who write their names in English have been spelt as they themselves spell them.

In the transliteration of Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Indian words where *h* in a final position is silent (as in *Firishtah*, *Namah* and *Battutah*) it has been dropped to help the correct pronunciation of the word. Thus *Firishtah*, *Namah* and Battutah, etc., have been written as *Firishta*, *Nama* and Battuta, etc.

The titles *Sultan-u'sh-Sharq* and *Malik-u'sh-Sharq*, owing to their frequent appearence, have been printed as Sultan-ush-Sharq and Malik-ush-Sharq.

Diacritics have not been used and only the Arabic letters *'ayn* and *hamza* have been marked. In translation the pronunciation in Indo-Persian and Urdu has been given preference over the original forms.

NOTES ON REFERENCES

To save space, the references mention either the name of the author or the names of the books; and those authors and books which have long names and titles have been abbreviated.

Such Arabic words familiar to readers as *Hadith* and *Dhikr*, etc., appear here as *Hadis* and *Zikr*, etc. The convention used in the Encyclopedia of Islam for the Arabic article *al* is not followed here. Thus we write Abd al-Rahman as Abdur Rahman. Note also Abul Fadl, etc., as Abul Fazl etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

'A. Baqi	*Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* by Khawaja 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi.
A. Fuhrer	*The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, vol. I by A. Fuhrer and Smith.
'Afif	*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif.
A'in	*A'in-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl.
Bada'uni	*Muntkhab-u't-Tawarikh* by 'Abdul Qadir Bada'uni.
Bindraban	*Lub-u'l-Tawarikh* by Rai Bindraban.
Barani	*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Zia-u'd-din Barani.
B.M.	British Museum.
B.P.P.	*Bengal Past and Present* (Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society).
C.H.I.	*The Cambridge History of India.*
E.B. Havell	*Indian Architecture* by E.B. Havell.
Firishta	*Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* (*Tarikh-i-Firishta*) by Muhammad Abul Qasim Firishta.
Ghulam Hasan	*Jaunpur's Short Account* by Ghulam Hasan.
Hadi	*Haft Gulshan-i-Muhammad Shahi* by Muhammad Hadi.
Hasan	*Ahsan-u't-Tawarikh* (*Muntkhab u't-Tawarikh*) by Hasan bin Muhammad Shirazi.
I.C.	*Islamic Culture.*
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
I.H. Qureshi	*The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli* by Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi.

Imp. Gaz.	*Imperial Gazetteer.*
I.O.	India Office.
Ishwari Prasad	*History of Medieval India* by Ishwari Prasad.
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JASP	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan.*
JBOHRS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Historical Research Society.*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
JPHS	*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*
K. A. Nizami	*Studies in Medieval India* by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.
MIQ	*Medieval Indian Quarterly.*
Monumental Antiquities	*The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N.W. Province and Oudh* by A. Fuhrer.
Mushtaqi	*Waq'iat-i-Mushtaqi* by Rizq-ullah Mushtaqi.
Nur-u'l-Haqq	*Zubdat-u't-Tawarikh* by Nur-u'l-Haqq al-Mashriqi, al-Dehlavi.
Percy Brown	*Indian Architecture, The Islamic Period* by Percy Brown.
S. Lane-Poole	*Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule* by Stanley Lane-Poole.
Tabaqat	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizam u'd-din Ahmad.
Tahir	*Rauzat-u't-Tahrin* by Tahir Muhammad Sabzwari.
Tazkirah	*Tazkirah-i-Ulama-i-Hind* by Rahman 'Ali.
U.P.D. Gaz.	U.P. District Gazetteer.
Yahya	*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi.
Zafar-u'l-Walih	*Zafar-u'l-Walih bi Muzaffar wa alih* by Abdullah Muhammad also called Haji-u'd-Dabir.

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Introduction

(A) *Importance of the Sultanate*

In the closing years of the 14th century four provincial Sultanates emerged. The founders of these provincial Sultanates were in all cases former officers of the Tughluqs. The Sultanate of Khandesh was founded in 1382 by Malik Raja Farooqi, once a guardsman of Sultan Firuz (1351-1388). Malwa became an independent Sultanate in 1392 under Dilawar Khan, a governor of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1390-1394). The Sultanate of Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarwar, a *Khwaja-sara* [an eunuch] of Sultan Firuz, and the Sultanate of Gujarat declared its independence in 1396 under Zafar Khan, a governor of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

Bengal had been an independent Sultanate since 1336 and the Bahmani Sultanate had come into existence in 1347 under 'Ala-u'd-din Hasan Shah. The history of these two Sultanates founded earlier followed a course slightly different from that of the later dynasties.

Among these provincial Sultanates Jaunpur occupied an important position. Though its life span was the shortest (for the independent Sultanate of Khandesh lasted for 219 years, the Bahmani Sultanate for 180 years, Gujarat for 176 years and Jaunpur only for 101 years), yet its history is full of significant developments both political and cultural.

One very important fact about the Sultanate of Jaunpur is that it was formed in the heart of northern India and included the *Khalisah* [Reserved Lands for the State] areas of the Delhi Sultanate. This was the source of its weakness. No other founder of a provincial kingdom was looked upon by the Sultans of Delhi as a greater rival to their power than the ruler of Jaunpur. This accounts for the large number of battles and conflicts which the Sharqis had with the Sultans of Delhi. Geopolitically the kingdom of Jaunpur was in a peculiar position. It extended from Koil to the frontiers of Bengal on one side and from the foot-hills of the Himalayas to the borders of Malwa on the other. The rulers of Orissa and Lakhnauti-Kalpi, Qannauj and Tirhut were its feudatories. This means that the slices which were cut off and made part of the Sharqi Sultanate belonged to different administrative traditions. Many of the difficulties which the rulers of Jaunpur had to face arose out of the heterogeneous character of their possessions. This also partly accounts for the comparatively short span of the life of the new Sultanate. It was a tremendous strain on the energies and resources of the rulers of Jaunpur to control this diverse population.

Notwithstanding all the handicaps the Sultanate of Jaunpur was a focal point in the history of Medieval India for more than a century. During this period six rulers occupied the throne of Jaunpur. *Sultan-ush-Sharq* Malik Sarwar and his adopted son Mubarak ruled for brief periods, but Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain ruled from 1401 to 1495, excluding the rule of Muhammad for a few months in 1458. The reign of Sultan Ibrahim, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Husain covers a period of nearly

ninety-four years, during which Jaunpur rose to its pre-eminent position in Northern India. Its rulers had to fight on all frontiers—with Delhi on one side, Malwa on the other and Orissa on the third. Thus hemmed in on all sides by hostile powers Jaunpur had to increase its military strength. It is estimated that the army of the Sharqi Sultans comprised 1,70,000 horses and 1,400 elephants. This was the largest army that any kingdom had in that period. In spite of this incessant military activity on almost all frontiers of their kingdom, the Sharqi rulers found time for peaceful pursuits. They encouraged education, patronized artists and musicians, scholars and divines, and erected magnificent buildings. Percy Brown remarks that the Sharqi rule was a period of great architectural activity, and the architecture developed in Jaunpur exercised great influence on the architectural achievements of other places. Brown further remarks that had not Sikandar Lodi ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the Sharqi rulers its buildings would have provided a provincial manifestation of Indo-Islamic architecture of more than ordinary interest. The buildings that have survived Lodi destruction are nine mosques of Jaunpur and twelve large tombs and shrines of rulers and saints. They have survived because their destruction was considered sacrilegious. In the case of the tombs of the rulers, however, the domes have been destroyed. A few remnants of palaces, forts, etc., tell the story of the architectural glory of Jaunpur. Outside the city of Jaunpur there are a few mosques, tombs and shrines of the Sharqi period at Zafarabad, Thulandi, Dalmau, Ja'is, Rai Bareilly, Dhopap, Kichaucha, Bihar, Makanpur, Machhlishahr and other places. The Sharqis founded new cities such as Husainabad and also restored some old ones. Their irrigation schemes and public works such as bridges, canals, wells, and gardens, though now in a bad condition, testify how much they cared for the welfare of their subjects.

Jaunpur became one of the most renowned seats of Muslim learning in the East. Eminent scholars such as Qazi Shihab-u'd-

din Daulatabadi, Maulana Khawajgi, Maulana Ilah Dad, Khwaja Abul Fath, Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Gunabadi, Maulana Sharf-u'd-din Lahori, Maulana Safi Jaunpuri and Qazi Sama-u'd-din flocked to it from far and near. They enriched Jaunpur with religious and literary traditions and produced many eminent works of scholarship on *Tafsir*, *Fiqh*, *Hadis*, *Usul* and *Kalam*. *Malik-u'l-'Ulama* Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, who was held in high esteem by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, produced several works which became part of the syallabus of Muslim education practically throughout the whole country. According to Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis, he was the most distinguished scholar of the age. His commentary on the Quran, *Bahr-i-Mawwaj*, was the first of its kind. His commentaries and several of his works on Muslim religion and philosophy are still held in high esteem. The academic importance which Jaunpur attained under the Sharqis outlived the dynasty and itself. As late as the seventeenth century Shah Jahan called it the Shiraz of India. The respect in which the Sharqi rulers were held by religious scholars and divines of other kingdoms may be gauged from the fact that when Ganesh established his rule in Bengal, the great saint of Panduah, Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam, turned to the Sharqi ruler for help. The historian, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, was inclined to reject the role of Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam in overthrowing Ganesh, but the discovery of the letters of Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam and Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani has restored the complete picture.

Another aspect of Jaunpur's greatness in the 15th century is that some of the most important mystic orders and movements of the period arose there. Shah Madar, who migrated from Syria and founded the *Madariya* Order at Makanpur, belongs to the Sharqi period. Jaunpur completely overshadowed the mother kingdom in size and prestige as well as in monumental achievements. Some of the leaders of the Hindu *Bhakti* Movement such as Kabir and others belonged to the area under the Sharqi rule. Sayyid Muhammad, the founder of the *Mahdawi* Movement, which became a force in subsequent years, belonged

to Jaunpur. The founder of the *Shattari* Movement in India, Shah 'Abdullah, made Jaunpur his first headquarters when he came to India from Persia during the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi.

(B) *Scope of the Work*

Notwithstanding its great cultural achievements and political grandeur, no contemporary history of Jaunpur has reached us. It is difficult to believe that no court chroniclers or official histories were compiled during this period, as the compilation of official histories was a long established Muslim tradition. In India the first history compiled at the instance of the rulers is the *Taj-u'l-Ma'sir* by Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami, (626/1228-9). All important rulers tried to have some sort of official account of their regimes. During the Tughluq period the tradition of official history was a fully developed one, and a very large number of official and semi-official histories—like *Manaqib-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Manaqib-i-Muhammad bin Tughluq*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, compiled by Zia-u'd-din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, compiled by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, etc.—were compiled. It is, therefore, strange that the Sharqis, who were so close to the Tughluq traditions, did not have an official account of their reign prepared by their court historians. It sounds all the more strange when it is kept in mind that there was no dearth of talented scholars to undertake this work. We are inclined to think that in all probability the works of Sharqi historians met the same fate as the Sharqi monuments at the hands of the Lodi Sultans. Two early references in mystic literature confirm this surmise. The *Lata'if-i-Quddusi*, a collection of the conversations of Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddus Gangohi, contains a reference to a versified Persian translation of Mulla Da'ud's *Chanda'in*, which, it is pointed out, "perished when war broke out between Sultan Bahlul and Sultan Husain." Another interesting reference to the extinction of contemporary historical material is found in the *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq, the famous Muhaddis of Delhi. The Shaikh says that one of his ancestors had

compiled a versified account of the conflict between Bahlul and Sultan Husain, but even his earnest endeavours to trace this book proved abortive.

The Delhi historians have shown scant interest in the Sharqi dynasty because of its rival character. The author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, who brought down his history to the year 1434, was in a position to supply valuable information about the early Sharqi Sultans. But all that he has given is a few scattered incidents about the first three Sharqi rulers. Later historians like Muhammad Kabir, the author of *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, and Rizq-ullah Mushtaqi, the author of *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, have supplied merely anecdotes; no sober history can be constructed on their basis. A systematic effort to prepare a brief but authentic account of the Sharqis was made by Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, the famous *Bakhshi* of Akbar. Elliot correctly remarks about this work that it was the first to be composed upon a new model. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad has given interesting accounts of the provincial kingdoms of the 14th and 15th centuries. A very pertinent question may be raised in this connection: from where did Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad get his information about the Sharqis? It is again surprising that though Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad has referred to his sources of information about other periods of history, he makes no reference to his sources with regard to the Sharqis. Probably Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad relied mostly on those historical traditions that were available to him, but used his strong historical sense in order to put the events in their proper historical perspective. That Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad sifted his material carefully is confirmed by the fact that his dates and other factual information are corroborated by numismatic and archaeological evidence. All later historians, like Firishta, have given merely a summary or a rehash of Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad's account of the Sharqi rulers.

Later writers in Persian and Urdu did not attempt more detailed

accounts of the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur. As late as 1800 one Khair-u'd-din Muhammad, a resident of Allahabad, thought of compiling a history of Jaunpur. Khair-u'd-din was at first a school teacher at Allahabad. Later he found employment on the staff of Captain Bruce of the East India Company. Somehow Khair-u'd-din developed his interest in local histories and wherever he was posted he undertook to complete a history of that area. He wrote the history of Banaras, *Tuhfah-i-Tazah*, a history of Gawalior, *Gawalior Nama*, and a history of Jaunpur, *Jaunpur Nama*. Though much useful information has been collected by Khair-u'd-din about the later history and the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur, his few pages, particularly on the political history of the Sharqis, hardly satisfy the expectation of a modern scholar.

W. R. Pogson was the first Western scholar to display keen interest in the history of Jaunpur. Early in the nineteenth century, when in the service of the East India Company, he translated some portion of Khair-u'd-din's work into English. For many years Pogson's work was the only history of Jaunpur available in the English language. Nearly half a century later Cunningham started his researches on Indian archaeology. His Archaeological Survey Reports contain detailed descriptions of the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur. Fuhrer's work on the monuments of Jaunpur is the first systematic attempt to study the archaeological remains of the Sharqi period. Later historians have drawn their information mainly from the pioneer work of Fuhrer. But Fuhrer was primarily interested in archaeology. He gives merely a skeleton of the history of Jaunpur. Later the compilation of the Gazetteers was taken up by Nevill, who collected some further information about the history and architecture of Jaunpur. Both Nevill and Cunningham followed Pogson's work. But they referred to one work, *Manaqib-i-Darweshiya*, which has now vanished.

In the text books which were written in the first decade of the present century the information about Jaunpur was drawn mainly

from the aforementioned books. V. A. Smith, in his *Oxford History of India*, dismisses Jaunpur in a few paragraphs. No historian thought it worthwhile to go into the political history of the Sharqi kingdom. They confined their accounts to the description of the Atala Mosque and a few other tombs and mosques of Zafarabad and Jaunpur. Even Sir Wolseley Haig gives in the *Cambridge History of India* a very brief account of the Sharqi kingdom which is disproportionate to its importance in the history of medieval India. Ishwari Prasad in his *History of Medieval India* improves upon the account of the preceding historians. In the chapter on the disintegration of the Sultanate he refers to the political and cultural contribution of the Sharqis and their architectural monuments. But this account is also tantalizing in its meagreness. The Vidhya Bhavan series edited by R. C. Majumdar also contains a chapter in its volume on the Delhi Sultanate. This chapter is no more than rehash of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari:* no attempt has been made to determine the place of the Sharqi Sultanate in the history of Medieval India and no assessment has been made of its cultural contribution; on the whole this section is unimaginative and dull.

This being the position of the historical writings, medieval and modern, on the Sharqi kingdom, other sources of information have to be tapped for constructing an account of it. I have tried to make a critical use of the information available in (1) coins; (2) inscriptions; (3) letters of saints; (4) records of conversations of saints; (5) local histories of other provincial kingdoms; (6) biographical accounts of scholars and saints; (7) encyclopaedic works like *Subh-i-Sadiq* and *Rauzat-u't-Tahirin;* and (8) literature available in Hindi and local dialects.

In the last fifty years the history of many provincial dynasties of Medieval India has been attempted. Commissariat has dealt with the history of Gujarat, and Harun Khan Sherwani and 'Abdul Qadir Husaini have dealt with the history of Bahmanis. The history of Bengal has also been written under the supervision

of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, and is being re-written. A history of Bihar has also appeared as *Bihar Through the Ages*, but this fails to give a complete picture of the Sharqi Kingdom, which in its day covered the major portion of Bihar. No separate monograph has so far been attempted on the history of Jaunpur. My work is an humble attempt to fill this gap in our historical studies.

London and Tucson 1969-70. M. M. SAEED

CHAPTER I

Historical Background of the Sultanate

When the mosaic pattern of Indian history is surveyed as a whole, there is considerable evidence that a cycle of centralization and decentralization has always been in motion. Whenever a great power has appeared in the North, it has always sought extension of its power to the South. However, this extension has marked the climax as well as the beginning of the decline of that power. Furthermore, geographical barriers, cultural diversities, regional prejudices, economic factors, and the absence of swift means of communication have always weakened the centripetal tendencies. Hence there emerged many petty kingdoms in India from time to time.

When the Turks established their hegemony in the last decade of the 12th century, India had been passing through a phase of decentralization, and the whole country was divided into small political fragments without any semblance of cohesion or unity. Iletmish welded into a compact homogeneous state what had been bequeathed to him as a congeries of scattered Muslim

acquisitions of Hindustan. Balban further consolidated the Turkish Empire, but the fear of the Mongols' expansion put a check on his ambition. Preservation rather than expansion became the policy of the Delhi Sultanate under Balban.

With the advent of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji (1296) a new era of imperialism began. But 'Ala-u'd-din was a grim political realist. He knew where to stop and when. Fully conscious of the limitations resulting from geographical and economic factors and regional diversities, he desisted from pursuing a uniform policy with regard to the areas conquered by him. He followed three different policies with reference to the new Khalji acquisitions. In the region around Delhi he relentlessly followed a policy of direct annexation and integration, converted *Iqta'* lands (Assignments of Land) into *Khalisah* lands (Reserved Lands for the State) and brought the whole region under central control, both economically and administratively.[1] Secondly a policy of partial annexation and partial local freedom was followed in Rajputana.[2] Finally in the Deccan he aimed merely at the recognition of his overlordship by the independent rulers of the South. When a Hindu Raja accepted his suzerainty, he allowed him complete freedom to carry on the administration on traditional lines.[3] This policy, dictated by a clear and unerring political instinct, worked well and helped the Sultan in retaining his imperial hold over the far-flung parts of the empire.

Muhammad bin Tughluq abandoned this policy. He considered

[1] K. S. Lal, pp. 177-90.

[2] *C. H. I.*, III: 525-562. He captured Chitor in 1303, and Rana Ratan Singh was brought to Delhi as a prisoner. Here then his son, Khizr Khan, was appointed as Governor, but at the latter's failure, Arsi, the nephew of Ratan Singh, who had entered the royal services, was appointed Governor. He remained loyal to 'Ala-u'd-din, and till the latter's death regularly attended his court to present his tribute.

[3] In 1296 'Ala-u'd-din had defeated Ram Chandra, Raja of Deogir. The defeated Raja sued for peace. According to the terms the province of Ellichpur was to be administered at 'Ala-u'd-din's convenience, *i.e.*, either by his or Ram Chandra's officers. He also received extravagant indemnity, which consisted of gold, pearls, silver and other gems of very high price. K.S. Lal, pp. 226-237.

'Ala-u'd-din Khalji's arrangements as half-hearted, a temporary solution of a permanent problem. In contrast Muhammad bin Tughluq initiated a policy of direct control over the regions which had formerly enjoyed relative autonomy, thus throwing a challenge to the age-long centrifugal tendencies.[1] The rise of the provincial kingdoms from the forties of the fourteenth century onward can be ascribed to this policy of over-centralization and its eventual breakdown.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was one of the ablest men of his age, controlled his dominions in the first few years of his reign very well. At the time of his succession to the throne, his display of splendour, accompanied by the gifts to all sections of the population, and his royal patronage to divines and scholars had greatly strengthened the loyalty of his subjects towards him.[2] If any reluctant element arose, he subdued it ruthlessly.[3] Not only did he establish his authority over the northern provinces, but he also enlarged his dominions by conquering Warangal in 1327-28 and Ma'bar and Dvarasamudra soon afterwards.[4] These conquests, in turn, enabled him to establish his sovereignty as far as Madura. Thus within a few years he extended his sway over the remotest provinces of India except a small portion of South India. The administration of the country was established

[1] In the second year of his reign Baha-u'd-din Gurshashp, his first cousin and fief holder of Sagar, refused to recognise him as king and also instigated the whole Deccan to revolt. When he could not face the imperial army, he took refuge, first under the Raja of Kampli and then under Vira Ballala III. But he was captured and flayed alive. This revolt politically affected the whole country. Muhammad bin Tughluq, realising the importance of the Deccan, transferred his capital to Daulatabad. His aggressive policy in the south menaced the Hindus, who consequently established their independent kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336. Ibn Battuta, II, pp. 72-73. *C. H. I.*, III: 140-42.

[2] Barani, pp. 460-62. Yahya, pp. 97-99.

[3] The earliest rebellion of his reign was that of his first cousin, Baha-u'd-din Gurshashp, a fief holder of Sagar, in the Deccan. He was defeated and flayed alive. The most serious rebellion was that of Bahram Aiba (Kishlu Khan), his adopted uncle holding the fief of Uch, Sind and Multan. He was also captured and beheaded. Ibn Battuta, II: 72-73. Barani, pp. 478-79. Yahya, pp. 99-100, incorrectly writes Bahram Aiba's name as Bahram Aynah.

[4] Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 83-91.

on a sound footing, and the provincial governors and their subordinate officers were obedient to the royal command. The whole country of Muhammad bin Tughluq enjoyed peace and prosperity, and the fame of his court drew foreigners from other Asiatic countries to India in order to share in his bounty.[1] No Sultan of Delhi has been mentioned so frequently in the literature of other Islamic countries as Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[2] His political influence extended to Egypt, on the one hand, and to China and Khurasan on the other.[3] In fact, the first few years of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign represent the palmiest days of the Tughluq Empire. But in the later years of his reign the Tughluq Empire gradually started to disintegrate. There were many factors which hastened this process. One of these was a change in the character and composition of the governing class. The strength and stability of an empire in the Middle Ages was very largely dependent on the compactness, solidarity, loyalty and co-operation of the governing class. The early Muslim rulers, who had derived their vitality mainly from the racial solidarity of the Turks, had created a strong ruling class from among their own people. By contrast the Khaljis employed local people.[4] Later, imitating the Khaljis, the Tughluqs employed heterogeneous elements, foreign as well as Indian, slaves as well as free men, new converts as well as favourites and relatives in the military service and in the civil service.[5] Under the Tughluqs such elements in the military departments freely indulged in intrigues and, whenever and wherever they found the opportunity, revolted against their royal master.

The first of these who revolted and declared independence (1334-35) was Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar, once a purse-bearer of

[1] Bada'uni, p. 232, writes that many people from the countries of Khurasan and 'Iraq and Samarqand arrived in Hindustan in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultan.

[2] K. A. Nizami, p. 64.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[4] Malik Kafur, Alp Khan and many such others belong to this class.

[5] Barani, pp. 521-22.

the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[1] So, too, the province of Bengal rebelled and proclaimed its independence under its governor, Fakhr-u'd-din (1337) the armour-bearer of Bahram Khan,[2] with the result that Bengal was lost to the Sultanate for ever. These revolts radically affected the north where Ibrahim Shah (1336-37), son of Ahsan Shah, the governor of Sarsuti and Hansi,[3] and Nizam Ma'in, the governor of Kara, also revolted (1338-39) in order to gain independence.[4] They further encouraged persons such as 'Ain-u'l-Mulk Multani (1340-41), the governor of Awadh and Zafarabad,[5] Amir Hulaju (1342) at Lahore[6] and Shahu Afghan (1341-42) at Multan[7] to revolt against Muhammad bin Tughluq. This upset the peace of the Empire to a great extent; and there followed a succession of rebellions covering the area of Panjab, Malwa and Gujarat. In these grim circumstances the eastern and southern provinces down to the Narbada threw off the yoke and established well defined principalities with Madura, Warangal and Vijayanagar as their capitals.[8] Next a large number of foreigners as well as favourite nobles in the

[1] Ibn Battuta, II: 75-76, 163. Yahya, p. 106, is mistaken in writing his name as (Sayyid) Hasan (Kaithali). Bada'uni, I: 231, is also mistaken in identifying this name and incident with Hasan Gangu, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. Ahsan Shah was actually a Sayyid of Kaithal (near Delhi) and once a purse-bearer of the Sultan.

[2] Barani, p. 480. Yahya, pp. 104-6. Fakhr-u'd-din was finally assassinated by Ilyas Haji, who ascended the throne of Lakhnauti under the designation of Sultan Shams-u'd-din.

[3] Ibn Battuta, II: 78-79. He was the brother-in-law of Ibn Battuta. *C. H. I.*, III: 49. He was brutally executed.

[4] Barani, p. 487. Yahya, p. 108. Bada'uni, i: 233.

[5] Ibn Battuta, II: 79-82. Barani, pp. 489-91. Yahya, pp. 109-10. 'Ain-u'l-Mulk was one of the reputed nobles of Khaljis and had also served under Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I. Muhammad bin Tughluq's suspicious policy towards his nobles encouraged him to disobey his order and made him revolt against him.

[6] Ibn Battuta, II: 81-82. Amir Hulaju killed the fief holder, Tatar Khan, and declared his independence.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. Barani, pp. 482-83. Yahya, pp. 106-7. They all contradict one another in recording his flight. Barani writes that when the Sultan marched against him, he fled for good to Afghanistan. Both Battuta and Yahya are not clear about his end. They simply write that he fled to the mountains. But they all seem to be vague. Actually he fled to Malwa and Gujarat to incite other Afghans against the Sultan.

[8] Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 178. *C. H. I.* III: 489.

Government of Malwa, Gujarat and other southern regions became rebellious. Muhammad bin Tughluq suppressed these rebellions ruthlessly. The hereditary nobles, in turn, retaliated with further plots. Especially *Amiran-i-Sadah* now openly revolted against the Imperial authority. This caused further disorder and finally anarchy in almost all parts of the Empire. Taking advantage of these circumstances, the Gujarati and the Deogiri amirs chose one of their leaders, Isma'il Makh Afghan, as their king.[1] The amirs of Khandesh and Berar were not slow to follow the example of their compatriots. When Taghi (1345),[2] originally a shoemaker and slave of Safdar Malik Sultani, revolted and drew Muhammad bin Tughluq's attention to Gujarat, Hasan Gangu, finding the opportunity, raised the standard of sovereignty in the Deccan (1347).[3] Thus the Deccan also slipped from the grasp of the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughluq pathetically fought alone with his adverse circumstances and thus "the Deccan proved to be the sphinx of the situation. What Marathas did for Aurangzeb, the Mughul Emperor, the Deccan Amirs did on a small scale and with fewer resources for Muhammad bin Tughluq."[4] He found the Deccan revolt a running sore which ultimately ruined him.

It should be taken into account that during this time the regional, social and cultural elements of those parts of Hindustan which had been suppressed for centuries were also involved in these revolts and were always on the lookout for any opportunity to assert their independence.

Economic factors were also involved in the rise of the provincial Sultanates. When Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne his finance department was working satisfactorily.

[1] Barani, p. 514. Yahya, p. 111.

[2] Yahya, pp. 112-13. Barani, pp. 515-23. Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 185-89. After killing the deputy and plundering Cambay and Broach, he fled to Sind and caused further disturbance there. He ruined the Sultan politically as well as economically.

[3] Barani, p. 515. Yahya, p. 112. Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 184-85.

[4] Ishwari Prasad, 235.

He could easily afford to spend lavishly from the royal treasury in giving rewards to his Amirs and to foreign visitors.[1] He also spent a large amount of money on the establishment of the new capital of Deogir[2] and was encouraged to extend his military operations beyond the boundaries of India.[3] He attempted further to improve his financial position by increasing taxation, but this had such grave consequences for his subjects that the revenue of the country dwindled.[4] Then, too, the Qarachil expedition not only ruined the Sultan financially, but also affected the general prosperity of the country.[5] As the treasury paid in cash for the houses of those people who migrated from Delhi to Daulatabad, public funds were diminished.[6] Muhammad bin Tughluq's enactment that a *muhr* of copper should become current on equal footing with the *muhr* of silver also led to many corrupt practices in the whole kingdom; these ultimately ruined his treasury.[7] Above all the failure of monsoons forced him to face prolonged and serious famines, which gravely dislocated his revenue system and frustrated all hopes of good government.[8] The contemporary chroniclers remark that in the districts of the *Doab*, man was still devouring man and thousands perished for want of food.[9]

[1] Barani, pp. 460-62. Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 88-9.

[2] Barani, pp. 473-74.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 477-78. The expedition of Qarachil, in which he lost eighty thousand cavalry. For details, see Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 126-30, and R. P. Tripathi, p. 274.

[4] Barani, p. 473. Yahya, pp. 101-2. Bada'uni, p. 228. Barani only mentions about the tribute which was increased ten to twenty per cent, whereas others also mention about other taxes and the counting of cattle.

[5] Barani, pp. 437-74 and 477-78. As mentioned before, he lost eighty thousand cavalry on this expedition. Barani is mistaken in mentioning the name of this expedition as Farajal. Yahya, p. 101, is also incorrect in this respect: he writes Qarajal. The real name of these mountains where the Sultan's cavalry marched and was destroyed is Koh-i-Qarachil; also see Ibn Battuta, II: 160-1. For details see Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 126-30.

[6] Barani, pp. 475-76. Yahya, pp. 102-3. Bada'uni, I: 228-29.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29. Barani, pp. 475-76. Yahya, pp. 102-3.

[8] Barani, p. 473. Yahya, pp. 113-14. For seven years there was not a single drop of rain.

[9] Barani, p. 485. Ibn Battuta, II: 89.

Muhammd bin Tughluq abandoned all his military plans in an attempt to fight against his misfortunes. He abolished all the non-*Shar'i* taxes and duties on foreign goods.[1] To encourage cultivation and production he gave loans and other facilities to the peasantry, and financed the sinking of wells.[2] Permission was also given to families to migrate to Hindustan for the period of distress.[3] He spent about two crores for their relief and settlement, which became a heavy burden upon the exchequer at an unfavourable time.[4] Above all, embezzlement by the officers and *Shiqqdars* of the Department of *Diwan-i-Amir-i-Kuhi* undermined the Sultanate's economy.[5] Muhammad bin Tughluq's misfortunes thus brought him face to face with one of the most serious crises in the history of India.

His reckless extravagance and merciless treatment of his subordinates aggravated matters and hastened the disruption of his empire. He was also at war with the *Pirs* and the '*Ulama* of his time whom he compelled to migrate to Daulatabad.[6] This too aroused against him universal scorn, so that his subjects refused to co-operate with him, a struggle which has been immortalized in the pages of Barani. When discussing the Deccan experiment of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Gardner Brown makes the significant observation that in the fourteenth century the centre of economic gravity had shifted to the south.[7] Viewed in the light of this observation, it is clear that the economic decay of Delhi, which could not remain the centre of a vast empire, excited the cupidity of the provincial governors and forced a large number of scholars, saints and poets to leave Delhi and its adjoining regions, and to settle in provincial towns which were soon to emerge as the seats of regional kingdoms.

[1] R. P. Tripathi, p. 277.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 498-99.
[6] Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 121-23.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

The administration of the government in the Tughluq period was far from efficient. The central government and the provincial government were not well knit together. The *wazir* and the provincial governors, mostly appointed by favour, had large armies and unrestricted powers. Their corrupt ways undermined the Tughluq Empire. Muhammad bin Tughluq had invested the office of the wazir with great power, a change dangerous to the machinery of the government, unless the wazir had rare ability.[1] He conferred the post of wizarat on Ahmad Ayaz, an elderly man, who had been the superintendent of public works under Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I.[2] Ahmad Ayaz did not prove a success, as he could not handle the officials of the Government properly.[3] After his death his deputy (a converted Telang Hindu) succeeded him. Sultan Firuz had so much trust in him that he would absent himself from the capital for long periods.[4] A wazir such as Khan Jahan under Sultan Firuz had so much power that he could even appoint and dismiss high officials such as *Mushrif-i-Mamalik*.[5] This authoritative position of the wazir always made his subordinates and the nobles of the court jealous, who indulged in politics at the centre to such an extent that they even neglected their duties. When Sultan Muhammad Shah (1390-93), son of Sultan Firuz Shah, came to the throne, Islam Khan was given the office of the wazir. He was completely free to bring about any change in the government.[6] Once when Muhammad Shah was away in the *Doab*, surveying the new fort of Muhammadabad, Islam Khan, finding the time opportune, planned to go to Panjab to stir up a rebellion. But Muhammad Shah's

[1] I. H. Qureshi, pp. 50, 84-85.

[2] Yahya, p. 98.

[3] R. R. Tripathi, p. 183. I. H. Qureshi, p. 50, mentions that Ahmad Ayaz was virtually a monarch.

[4] Yahya, pp. 135-36. During the first seven years of his reign Sultan Firoz spent only thirteen days in the capital. R. R. Tripathi, p. 183. See also J. M. Banerjee, pp. 45-46, 77-79.

[5] 'Afif, p. 426. Yahya, pp. 135-36. R. P. Tripathi, p. 184. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 78-9. In the latter half of Firuz's reign Khan Jahan had unlimited powers. J. M. Banerjee, pp. 45-46, 77-79.

[6] *C. H. I.*, III: 191-92.

Na'ib Wazir, Khwaja Sarwar, at once revealed the plot. Later after his return to the capital Muhammad Shah inquired into the matter more closely with the result that the office of the wazir was given to Khwaja Sarwar.[1] When anarchy prevailed in the *Doab* Khwaja Sarwar was transferred there as governor of Zafarabad and Jaunpur (May 1394). Mallu Iqbal succeeded him as wazir and he also misused his powers. He became hostile to Sultan Mahmud (1393-1413) and darkened the last days of the Tughluq dynasty with his intrigues. He had, in fact, become the master of the capital, and finally succeeded in driving Sultan Mahmud out of Delhi.[2] (This anarchic condition encouraged Timur to invade Delhi.) Like the wazir, the provincial governors were also appointed through personal favours. Having armies of their own, they misused their unrestricted powers and also undermined the Tughluq Empire in many ways. They were always trying to become independent and whenever critical conditions prevailed in the centre, instead of sending help, they created disturbances. Governors of Muhammad bin Tughluq such as Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar (1334-35),[3] Ibrahim Shah of Sirsuti and Hansi (1336-37),[4] Fakhr-u'd-din of Bengal (1337), Nizam Ma'in of Kara (1338-39),[5] and others mentioned above, were all employed by favour, and rebelled one after the other in order to assert their independence.

The same situation was repeated during the reign of the later Tughluq rulers. Malik Rija, a fief holder of Sultan Firuz and formerly one of his guardsmen,[6] Dilawar Khan, governor of Malwa, formerly one of the favourite nobles of Sultan Firuz and a great friend of his son Muhammad Shah,[7] Zafar Khan, governor

[1] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 7.

[2] He was actually *de facto* ruler of Delhi for some years. His intrigues and politics forced Mahmud Tughluq to leave Delhi and to live in Qannauj, where he remained till his death. *C. H. I.*, III: 193-205.

[3] *C. H. I.*, III: 262.

[4] Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 142.

[5] Barani, p. 487. Yahya, p. 108. Bada'uni, p. 233.

[6] Firishta, II: 541-42.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 461-62.

of Gujarat and a nephew of Sultan Firuz's wife,[1] Malik Sarwar, governor of Zafarabad and Jaunpur and formerly a *Khwaja-sara* of Sultan Firuz,[2] were all appointed through favours to their respective governorships. When the last ruler, Sultan Muhammad Shah, was in troubled waters, owing to the partisanship and political intrigues of the nobles in the centre, these governors, instead of sending help to him, created further disturbances and declared their independence one after the other.

Independent Hindu chiefs constituted another formidable threat to almost every dynasty in the Sultanate period. Hindu chiefs and rajas controlled large districts throughout this period. As the country was mostly populated by Hindus, their co-operation was considered to be most important for the smooth running of the administration and the establishment of a good government. They held high posts even during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Ibn Battuta and Barani both testify to the existence of a Hindu provincial governor named Ratan.[3] Another Hindu, Dhara Dhar, held the office of the *na'ib-wazir* of Deogir and was head of *Diwan-i-Uslub* during Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. In return for their services to the state, these Hindu officials were paid by grants of land and other assignments.[4] Their duty was to collect revenue from the peasants and remit it to the exchequer—a work on which depended the prosperity of the country as well as the welfare of the government.[5] But these Hindu officials, because of their traditional influence, were often able to create trouble and hinder the collection of taxes. At that time the Hindu chiefs were the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim, and the Hindu peasants.[6] These chiefs, being suspicious of one another, created many problems

[1] Firishta, II: pp. 41-42.
[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 273. I. H. Qureshi, p. 184.
[3] Ibn Battuta, III: 105-6. Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 12.
[4] Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 12-13.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 12. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 197-9.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 185, and 195-7. Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 12.

and often proved disloyal to the crown. And whenever they found the chance they embezzled the revenue of the country and so burdened the treasury.[1]

Hindu chiefs, being masters of the peasants, also possessed a considerable military force and were eager to establish independence. In 1336 Rais of Vijayanagar were the pioneers in this respect; they captured a considerable territory in the Deccan and established an independent kingdom,[2] which may have encouraged the Hindu population to rebel against the rulers of Delhi afterwards. In 1343 the rebellion of the Hindus of Samana, Kaithal and Sunam, who abandoned agriculture and deserted the villages, seriously affected the peace of the realm.[3] In the year following the death of Sultan Firuz, one of the most notable results of the decline of the central authority was the large part played in politics by Hindu leaders. During the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1391-92 the Hindus of Etawah led by Rai Vira Singh,[4] his younger brother, Udharan Singh,[5] and Rai Sumer rose to rebellion. Islam Khan was sent against them, defeated them and carried Vira Singh to Delhi.[6] When the latter came back from Delhi, the rebellion broke out afresh, but was soon suppressed by Muhammad Shah personally.[7] In 1393 the Rajputs of Etawah again rebelled, but were suppressed by the governor

[1] Yahya, pp. 102-3. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 197-8. Yahya writes about a widespread fraud of 1330 when the token coinage was issued and every Hindu had turned his house into a mint. In various provinces they coined millions and thousands of copper coins and with that they paid their tributes and purchased horses and arms, etc. And when the issue was recalled, repayments were made in gold and silver at the face value of copper coins at tremendous cost. It completely ruined the royal treasury and had a very serious effect upon the general prosperity of the country.

[2] Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 162.

[3] Barani, pp. 479-80, Yahya, pp. 104-5. Bada'uni, I: 230. Also in 1377 Sultan Firuz was engaged in suppressing a rebellion of the Hindus in the Etawah district where the revenue could seldom be collected but by armed forces. *C. H. I.*, III: 182.

[4 & 5] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 6-7, gives their names whereas our chroniclers are mistaken in calling Vira Singh Nur Singh or Bar Singh, and Udharan Singh as Sarvadharan.

[6] Yahya, p. 152.

[7] *C. H. I.*, III: 192.

of Jalesar.[1] When Mahmud (1394-1413) came to the throne, he also had to deal with many rebellious Hindu chiefs. In the year 1394 the eastern provinces, which were mostly populated by the Hindus and had been rebellious for years past, were the most troublesome. *Khwaja-i-Jahan* Malik Sarwar, entitled *Sultan-ush-Sharq*, was sent to suppress the rebels.[2] His success in subduing the rebellion turned out to be the first step in the foundation of the Sharqi sultanate. But still in the later years of Mahmud, apart from the centre, we find in other provinces the local peasantry under the Hindu chiefs withholding the revenue, and waging war against the Muslim governors.[3]

Another important factor which strengthened the forces of decentralization was the Imperial Slave Household. These slaves were captured during the wars, and were given a proper education at the court according to their ability. Some were also trained for the army, some for palace employment and some for mechanical trades.[4] The slave system had been originally and primarily a source of great strength to Muslim rule in India, which had, in fact, been founded and consolidated by slaves. Aibak, Iletmish and Balban were the last good products of such a system. But during the reign of the Khaljis and the Tughluqs this system degenerated, so that even slaves of good repute such as Malik Kafur, under 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, and Malik Taghi, under Muhammad bin Tughluq, misbehaved and defied their masters in a most disgraceful way.[5] When Firuz Shah succeeded

[1] Yahya, p. 153. *C. H. I.*, III: 192-93.

[2] *C. H. I.*, III: 192-93; Yahya, p. 156.

[3] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 6. During the governorship of Farhat-u'l-Mulk the people of Gujarat became rebellious. Zafar Khan was appointed to make peace with them. The latter defeated the former at the battle of Kanbohi and established his cause there. Firishta, II: 350. For details see M. S. Commissariat, I: 48-49.

[4] I. H. Qureshi, pp. 65-66.

[5] Agha Mahdi Husain, pp. 6, 185-88. 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji had promoted Malik Kafur, also a slave, to commander-in-chief of the empire and had raised him to the position of a chief minister. He poisoned the Sultan's mind, imprisoned and exiled Khizr Khan, heir-apparent, and executed Alp Khan, who was maternal uncle and father-in-law of Khizr Khan. Thus he proved fatal to the Khalji Sultanate. Malik Taghi, a slave of Muhammad binTuhgluq, provoked to rebellion Gujarat and other adjacent parts of the empire.

to the throne, he increased the number of slaves excessively. According to 'Afif, a contemporary historian, the number of his slaves was one lakh and eighty thousand, out of which 40,000 served as guards at the palace, and 1,200 as artisans in Delhi.[1] These slaves had a department of their own with a treasury muster-master and district officials, a system which was essentially a great burden on the central exchequer.[2] The system, however, degenerated under Firuz and it became a source of weakness rather than strength to the crown. These slaves, as has been mentioned before, took part in baronial conspiracies and palace intrigues, and thus Firuz's closing years became clouded with troubles which further heightened the disorder of the whole Empire.[3] When Mahmud and Nusrat Shah, a grandson of Firuz, were contesting for the throne of Delhi, these slaves of the old regime along with other Maliks and Amirs at Firuzabad espoused the cause of the latter. Thus the crown of Delhi was tossed to and fro among rival parties, whose conflicts disrupted the whole Empire, while political favouritism encouraged the provincial governors to declare their independence.[4] A complete disruption of the Tughluq Empire ensued.

Firuz Shah's assignment and farming system was another reason for the downfall of the Tughluq dynasty. He lavishly paid his officials in the form of fiefs and also revived the practice of assigning villages to individual troopers.[5] These assignees of all classes thus enjoyed more than a fair share of the prosperity of the kingdom, and by accumulating large stores they became very rich.[6] Thus the existence of assignments must be regarded as a factor working strongly in favour of local diversity, because it involved a large number of persons, who were more interested in

[1] 'Afif, pp. 160-61. Yahya, mentions the number of his slaves as one lakh. See also Firishta, I: 270. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 65-66, 155-56.

[2] S. Lane-Poole, p. 148.

[3] I. H. Qureshi, p. 65.

[4] *C. H. I.*, III: 193-205.

[5] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 1.

[6] W. H. Moreland, pp. 57-58.

collecting their dues than maintaining their lands. Firuz was also exceptionally liberal in the matter of grants. According to Barani he not only restored grants which had been held in abeyance by his predecessors, but also made fresh grants.[1] The grants indeed often amounted to viceroyalties of great power, and during Firuz's reign we find large districts and even provinces assigned to eminent nobles—a factor tending to increase feudal power and fostering rebellion, and a situation which afterwards proved a great setback to the solidarity of the Empire. In the closing years of Firuz's reign such conditions obtained in most of the richer parts of the Empire. Mardan Daulat, entitled "King of the East," held Kara, Dalmau and Koil, while Sandila and Awadh established separate fiefs.[2] Gujarat was under Sikandar, Zafarabad and Jaunpur were under another amir, and Bihar was under Bir Afghan.[3] All these nobles were expected to manage their internal affairs and to defend their frontiers.[4] Such fief holders, assignees and nobles often disrupted the peace of the realm, economically as well as politically, and their mutual conflicts and disloyalty to their royal master may be regarded as continuous blows hastening the break-up of the Empire.

The army system further aggravated the difficulties of the Tughluqs, which ultimately made them lose their hold on the Empire. The maintenance of a large standing army was necessary, for it was impossible without it to manage such a large empire. Muhammad bin Tughluq took a great interest in the well-being of the army and he himself superintended its affairs.[5] It obviously remained very efficient during the first half of his reign. But from 1342 onwards we find a perceptible decline of strength in the royal army. In the later parts of his reign a dearth of capable

[1] Barani, pp. 558-59. He also restored the grants which had been withheld for the previous 170 years, *i.e.*, even beyond the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate.

[2] S. Lane-Poole, pp. 146-47.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Ishwari Prasad, p. 147.

generals became conspicuous and the standard of efficiency and military vigour became very low.[1] This was also in great measure due to the general decline of the administration caused by famines and the failure of the Sultan's cherished schemes. When the *Amiran-i-Sadah* revolted in the Deccan, the royal army cut a sorry figure, as the former inflicted a crushing defeat on 'Imad-u'l-Mulk, the Imperial General.[2]

There were many other defects in their military organisation. Firstly the bickering of the different ethnic groups comprising the army hampered its unity of action.[3] Secondly, having to rely upon the forces of other provinces which had to be summoned at a time of urgency was a great drawback. As Barani and Ibn Battuta both attest, during the revolt of 'Ain-u'l-Mulk Multani, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to summon forces from Samana, Amroha, Koil (modern Aligarh), Baran (modern Bulandshahr) and even from distant provinces such as Gujarat.[4] Such an arrangement could never be suitable for controlling such a vast Empire. Apart from that, Muhammad bin Tughluq's successors, including the much applauded Firuz, sadly lacked the essential attributes of warrior kings. Thus the low standard of ability among the later Tughluqs, the decentralization of the army, and the disloyalty and corruption of the military leaders further added to the troubles of the Tughluq Sultanate.[5] Moreover, the war of succession among the later Tughluqs broke the military forces into splinters, and favoured the rise of many petty leaders such as Bahadur Nahar Mewati, Mallu Iqbal Khan and Muqarrab Khan.[6] In the time of Mahmud, the last of the Tughluq monarchs, the frontiers also became insecure, which facilitated the re-

[1] Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 15.

[2] Ishwari Prasad, p. 292.

[3] Ibn Battuta, pp. 81-82; Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 288. There were Khurasanis, Turks and Persians as well as Indians in the army.

[4] Barani, p. 298.

[5] I. H. Qureshi, p. 131. Firuz Shah's unwise leniency undermined the discipline of his army. *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 1.

[6] *C. H. I.*, III: 193-205.

markably rapid progress of Timur, whose success was symptomatic of a decline that had already taken place. The provincial governors of Jaunpur, Malwa and Gujarat were aware of the weakness of the central power and, finding the time opportune, declared independence one after another.

The deterioration of the ruling house was another factor responsible for bringing this dynasty to an end. At that time the strength of the government depended upon that of the monarch. Powerful rulers such as Iletmish, Balban and 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji ruled successfully, but their weak successors faced treachery, assassination, intrigues and discord. The Tughluq dynasty reached its zenith under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Then it rapidly degenerated. The absence of a definite law of succession was also a cause of trouble. Firuz's death was the signal for anarchy. The Muslim governors openly disregarded the authority of the central government. The rise of the Hindu chiefs in Hindustan and Rajputana and of the Khokhars in the Panjab further destroyed the prestige of the Delhi Sultanate.[1] Weak and incapable rulers such as Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq II, Abu Bakr, Muhammad Shah, Sikandar, Mahmud and Nusrat Shah, who could not control the forces of anarchy, came to the throne in rapid succession.

In the course of a few years the kingdom broke up, and thus during the first half of the fifteenth century there was no longer a single predominant Muslim power in India. The sub-continent was divided into many states. In the south the kingdoms of Ma'bar (1334) and Vijayanagar (1336) had already emerged. The province of Sind achieved semi-independence under the Jams in 1336.[2] Bengal slipped away in 1338-9,[3] where 'Ala-u'd-din Shah founded the Ilyas Shahi rule. In 1347 the Deccan be-

[1] *C. H. I.*, III: 192-94.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 500-501.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

came the territory of the Bahmanis,[1] where kings of great valour and culture patronised art, architecture and literature. Its famous cities of Gulbarga and Bidar remained the cradle of culture for centuries. Khandesh was established in 1382.[2] Malwa was founded at Dhar in 1392,[3] and remained famous for centuries for its eminent philosophers and divines as well as its physicians.[4] Its Muslim architecture combined beauty with strength and its textiles were exported even to Persia and Turkey.[5] In 1396, Gujarat became an independent kingdom[6] where new cities such as Ahmad-Abad, Mustafa-Abad and Mahmud-Abad were adorned with buildings unique in the history of Muslim architecture in India.[7] Gujarat also became famous for its various new centres of Islamic learning.[8] But nothing could match its

[1] *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, III: 178.

'Ali bin 'Aziz Ullah Tabatabai, *Burhan-u'l-Ma'asir*, B. M. MS. 09057, pp. 20-21, gives the date 3rd December, 1347. Firishta writes 13th August, 1347. Firishta is mistaken in writing that he was descended from Gangu, a Brahman. The author of *Burhan-u'l-Ma'asir*, who is sometimes a better authority than Firishta, considered Hasan to be descended from Bahman bin Isfandiyar, king of Persia. He is also supported by other trustworthy authorities such as Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Razi, the author of *Haft Iqlim*, and Haji-u'd-Dabir, the author of *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, etc.

[2] Firishta, II: 541. Its founder, Malik Raja Farooqi was originally one of the guardsmen of Firuz Shah. It became famous for its gold, silver, and muslin.

[3] Firishta, II: 460-61. The real name of the founder of this kingdom was Husain. He was entitled by Firuz as Dilawar Khan. From his mother's side he was a descendant of Shihab-u'd-din Ghuri of Damascus and his grandfather was also from Ghur. He was appointed governor there by Muhammad Shah in recognition of services which he had rendered to the former in his bad days. Realizing the weak position of the rulers of Delhi, he declared independence during the confusion following Timur's invasion.

[4] *Mandu, The City of Joy*, pp. 17-19. Their hospitals were well arranged and had wards for all classes. The hospital was under the supervision of a renowned physician, Fazl Ullah.

[5] *Malwa in Transition*, pp. 5-7.

[6] Firishta, II: 352. The founder was Zafar Khan, a converted Muslim and a nephew of Firuz's Rajput wife. See Firishta, II: 35-58. M. S. Commissariat, I: 48-50.

[7] Percy Brown, pp. 54-57. Of all the provincial styles Gujarat was preeminent for its surface carving, Hindu and Jain patterns and panels and windows of pierced stones.

[8] *Ab-i-Kausar*, I: 510.

ivory work, velvet, brocade, embroidery, tissue pattern work and sandalwood work, which remained famous also during the reign of the great Mughuls.[1]

Thus, though Hindustan had become a mass of separate states during the fifteenth century, the history of these states is worthy of close study. Amongst these Jaunpur, which declared its independence in 1394, stands pre-eminent.

[1] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

The Rise of the Sultanate

(A) *Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar* (1394-1399)

The founder of the Sultanate of Jaunpur was a *Khwaja-sara* (an eunuch) named Malik Sarwar.[1] The contemporary records are silent about his origin and do not throw any light upon his early career. Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, who was very close to him in time, and who finished his famous history known as *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* about 1398 is the earliest source to mention him. He is twice referred to in this text as a contemporary figure during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah. 'Afif simply mentions his name,[2] and states that a direct account of his origin and end could be read in the *Manaqib-i-Sultan Muhammad*, a book which is unfortunately not available now.[3] Secondly, he refers to him as

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 273. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 59a. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a. Firishta, II: 590, 'A. Baqi, I: 97. Bindraban, ff. 23. Hasan, f. 415b. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, incorrectly gives his name as Malik Firuz.

[2] 'Afif, pp. 148-9.

[3] C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 510.

the custodian of the Royal Jewellery under Firuz Shah.[1] In the light of these statements it seems that Malik Sarwar was a *Khwaja-sara* of common birth, had great talent and, being loyal to Sultan Firuz, had been promoted to the post of custodian of the Royal Jewellery.[2] We know little about the early career of Malik Sarwar other than what 'Afif has said. Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, is the next authority to refer to him. He finished his history of the Jumna valley in 1438. He was a contemporary of the first three Sharqi rulers, especially of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, against whom he (Muhammad Bihamid) had also once fought as a military general of the Kalpi rulers at the battle of Iraj.[3] He mentions Malik Sarwar as *Shahnah-i-Shahr*, *i.e.*, governor[4] of the city (of Delhi) under Sultan Firuz (1351-88).[5] Hence we infer that Malik Sarwar, who was a man of loyal character, was promoted from the post of the custodian of the Royal Jewellery to the post of *Shahnah-i-Shahr* of Delhi. We do not find any other details about his work and duties, or how he rendered service under Sultan Firuz Shah.

Malik Sarwar's history is mostly associated with Sultan Firuz Shah's son, Sultan Muhammad Shah (1390-93), for whose enthronement he planned and worked a great deal. For many reasons Sultan Firuz Shah was much perturbed in the closing years of

[1] 'Afif, pp. 148-9.

[2] H. R. Nevill, *D. G. Jaunpur*, writes that Malik Sarwar was presented by Sipah Salar Rajab (b/o Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I) to his grandson Muhammad bin Tughluq. This fact we have not met with in contemporary records. This has misled many others. Sayyid Hasan Askari, "Discussion Notes on the Sharqi Monarchy of Jaunpur," *Indian History Congress Proceedings of the twenty-third session*," Aligarh, part I, 1960, p. 157, is also mistaken in mentioning the same.

Kings of the East, p. 24, is also mistaken in calling him a slave of Sipah Salar Rajab, brother of Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I, who gave him to Sultan Muhammad Shah (1390-99).

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 450b.

[4] *Shahnah* used to be an officer of high rank in charge of any royal department, like *Shahnah-i-Fil*, an officer in charge of the stables of the royal elephants. I have taken its meaning as high officer in charge of the city, having all the legal powers—a post which corresponds to the post of the modern governor, hence *Shahnah-i-Shahr*, Governor of the City.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 416b.

his reign. The death of his able son, Fath Khan (1374), who had been his last hope, had already dealt him a severe blow, and now the conspiracy of his wazir, Khan Jahan, and the murder of his grandson, Zafar Khan (1387), by the former further disturbed his peace of mind.[1] Disappointed and feeling no longer capable of governing, he now selected as heir his younger son, Muhammad Khan, conferring upon him the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah, and handed over administrative responsibilities to him.[2] But Sultan Muhammad Shah's behaviour towards the amirs enraged them. They stood against him in the name of Sultan Firuz, and the prince was compelled to flee to the Sirmur hills.[3] Sultan Firuz also deprived him of his royal title and promoted his grandson, Tughluq Shah, son of Fath Khan, to the same position.[4] Although Malik Sarwar was in a prominent position as a governor of the city of Delhi at that time, it is a pity that our chroniclers mention him nowhere in this last phase of Sultan Firuz Shah's reign.

Sultan Firuz died on 18 Ramzan 790/20th September, 1388,[5] and was succeeded by Sultan Tughluq Shah.[6] But Sultan Tughluq Shah (1388-89) was assassinated after about five months.[7] We do not find any reference to Malik Sarwar's position during his short reign. Muhammad Bihamid Khani, who had very good first-hand knowledge of the early Sharqis, states that when Sultan Tughluq Shah succeeded to the throne, he brought about many changes in the positions of high officials, but Malik Sarwar does not figure among them.[8] Probably he remained in the same

[1] Firishta, I: 269. He is the only chronicler who mentions Zafar Khan's murder by Khan Jahan.

[2] Yahya, pp. 138-39. *Tabaqat*, I: 238. 'A. Baqi, I: 377. Firishta, p. 270.

[3] Yahya, pp. 138-39. *Tabaqat*, I: 238. Firishta, I: 270. 'A. Baqi, I: 377.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 238. He was the son of Fath Khan.

[5] Yahya, p. 140. *Tabaqat*, I: 238. Bada'uni, I: 253. Firishta, I: 270. 'A. Baqi, I: 377.

[6] Yahya, p. 143. *Tabaqat*, i: 242. Firishta, I: 273. Bada'uni, I: 258. 'A. Baqi, i: 381-82.

[7] *Tabaqat*, I: 242.

[8] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 418a.

post as *Shahnah-i-Shahr* of Delhi during the five months' reign, as we find him again in the same post under the next ruler.

In the absence of contemporary sources for Malik Sarwar's career, with the exception of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* for the history of the period under Sultan Abu Bakr Shah, we have to depend on the accounts of the later historians such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, (the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*). Although Firishta mentions him as *Shahnah-i-Fil* (the superintendent in charge of the royal stables of elephants) under Sultan Abu Bakr Shah,[1] Yahya, the earliest authority and the contemporary of the Sharqis, and with whom Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad also agrees, mentions him as *Shahnah-i-Shahr* under Sultan Abu Bakr Shah. It is likely that a man who was *Shahnah-i-Shahr* under Sultan Firuz and perhaps in the same post under the next ruler, Sultan Tughluq Shah, remained as *Shahnah-i-Shahr* under Sultan Abu Bakr Shah.

When Sultan Abu Bakr Shah succeeded to the throne, the affairs of the capital were still far from satisfactory. Our sources are again very scanty here and do not throw much light upon Malik Sarwar's role at this critical moment in the history of the Tughluq Sultanate, though they speak of him in the later period of this monarch. As later circumstances show, perhaps he was watchfully studying the political situation and watching for an opportune moment to bring back his master Muhammad Shah to the throne.

It is clear from the foregoing that Malik Sarwar's history is associated mostly with that of his patron, Sultan Muhammad Shah (1390-93), son of Sultan Firuz Shah. The latter had deprived Sultan Muhammad Shah of the heir apparentship and had nominated his grandson, Tughluq Shah, as his successor. Sultan Mu-

[1] Firishta, I: 275; Yahya, p. 146; *Tabaqat*, I: 244. 'A. Baqi, I: 383, who mainly copies Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) only writes of him as *Shahnah* and is apparently not clear at all about the nature of his post. Firishta, who wrote later than Yahya, also calls him *Shahnah-i-Fil*, but in the light of the contemporary authority, Yahya, and others, Firishta seems to be wrong.

hammad Shah, the rightful claimant, was still hopeful of regaining his lost throne, since he had a strong ally, Malik Sarwar, in the capital as well as the amirs (centurions) of Samana who were all supporting his claim. At this time Sultan Muhammad Shah was encamped at Nagar Kot and was waiting for the opportunity to conquer Delhi. When Malik Sarwar's plans had matured at the centre, the amirs of Samana[1] killed Sultan Khushdil, governor of Samana, and invited Sultan Muhammad Shah from Nagar Kot to proclaim himself king.[2] This was a great opportunity for Sultan Muhammad Shah, who quickly reached Samana and proclaimed himself king (Rabi' I, 791/March 1389).[3] At this juncture Malik Sarwar secretly sent some more amirs to Samana to strengthen his patron Muhammad Shah's position, and encouraged him to march upon the capital.[4] When Muhammad Shah was approaching Delhi, Malik Sarwar sent some more amirs and cavalry to join Sultan Muhammad Shah, so that the strength of his army was raised to fifty thousand.[5] But his star did not favour him and, having been defeated by Sultan Abu Bakr Shah (1389-90), he withdrew to Jalesar.[6]

Sultan Muhammad Shah did not lose heart and continued the struggle for the throne till the circumstances at Delhi further favoured his chances against Sultan Abu Bakr Shah. Sultan Abu Bakr Shah's incompetence as a ruler annoyed his courtiers and finally stirred up rebellion among them.[7] This was a golden opportunity for Malik Sarwar, *Shahnah-i-Shahr* of Delhi, to

[1] The town of Samana lies in the State of Patiala, East Panjab, (30.9W and 76.15E) seventeen miles S.W. of the town of Patiala.

[2] Yahya, p. 145. *Tabaqat*, I: 243.

[3] Yahya, p. 145. *Tabaqat*, I: 243.

[4] Yahya, p. 146. *Tabaqat*, I: 243:44. Firishta, I: 274.

[5] Yahya, p. 146. *Tabaqat*, I: 243.

[6] Yahya, p. 146. *Tabaqat*, I: 243-44. Yahya incorrectly writes it as 'Jatsir'. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 421b, also incorrectly writes it as 'Jatsir'. Bada'uni, I: 260, also incorrectly writes it as 'Chator'. This place, Jalesar, is situated on the banks of the Jumna, thirty-eight miles east of Mathura in Etah, Dist. U.P. It has been rightly mentioned only by the author of *Tabaqat*.

[7] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 421b.

help his patron. Now Malik Sarwar openly assembled favourite high nobles and provincial governors as well as fifty thousand troops, and after rapid marches joined Sultan Muhammad Shah at Jalesar.[1] Sultan Muhammad Shah was so pleased with his help and loyalty that he bestowed upon him the post of wizarat along with the grand title of *Khwaja-i-Jahan*.[2] Sultan Muhammad Shah also conferred upon Malik Sarwar's allies high-sounding titles. He honoured Malik Nasir-u'l-Mulk as "Khizr Khan", Khwas-u'l-Mulk as "Khwas Khan", and Saif-u'l-Mulk as "Saif Khan".[3] He now marched upon Delhi a second time in the month of Sha'ban 791/August 1389, but at the battle which took place at Kundli,[4] he was again defeated and this shattered his hopes.[5] He went back with Malik Sarwar and other allies and again encamped at Jalesar.

Encouraged by his repeated victories, Sultan Abu Bakr Shah now decided to suppress his rival altogether. He collected his army and started towards Jalesar, where Sultan Muhammad Shah was encamped. When Sultan Muhammad heard this he took up some of his nobles and his army and, leaving the rest at Jalesar, started towards Delhi by another route.[6] Sultan Abu

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, pp. 421 and 422. Yahya, p. 146. *Tabaqat*, I: 244. Firishta, I: 275. Tahir, f. 603b. 'A. Baqi, I: 283.

[2] Yahya, p. 146. *Tabaqat*, I: 244. Tahir, p. 603. 'A. Baqi, I: 283. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 421b—mentions this incident, yet ignores many facts. He remembers him here as 'Azam Humayun.

[3] Yahya, p. 147. *Tabaqat*, I: 244. Firishta, I: 275. But they differ with each other in some respects. Firishta does not mention about Saif Khan. He agrees with Yahya and the author of *Tabaqat*, about Khwas-u'l-Mulk's title Khwas Khan. But he is wrong to add with Nasir-u'l-Mulk Khizr Khan the title to *Amir-u'l-Umara* as well. They also differ with each other on Rai Bhir and his title, *Rai-i-Rayan*. Yahya is silent about his title *Rai-i-Rayan*. Firishta incorrectly mentions his name as Rai Sarwar and is also wrong to write that he was given the post of wazir at this stage.

[4] Kundli lies forty-six miles north-east of Delhi on the Saharanpur Railway line. This place is probably modern Kandhla. See Jarrett A'in, II: 287.

[5] Yahya, p. 147. *Tabaqat*, I: 245. Firishta, 'A. Baqi, I: 384, though, mentions this battle, yet does not mention the name of the place where the actual battle took place. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 422b, is not clear here. He confuses this battle with the next (third) battle.

[6] Yahya, p. 148. *Tabaqat*, I: 245.

Bakr Shah hearing of his rival's move, at once returned to Delhi. Sultan Muhammad Shah, found the situation unfavourable again and went back to Jalesar.[1]

Sultan Muhammad Shah now decided to seek help from Amir Timur. He made Malik Sarwar, his loyal friend, governor of the Eastern districts, and also conferred upon him the high-sounding title of *Sultan-ush-Sharq* (King of the East); then, leaving prince Humayun under his tutorship, he took the road to Samarqand.[2] In the meanwhile, as our sources say, *Amir Hajib Sultani* became hostile to Sultan Abu Bakr Shah. He and other Firuz Shahi Amirs sent secret letters to Sultan Muhammad Shah and invited him to accept the throne.[3] Sultan Abu Bakr Shah, finding the circumstances so unfavourable, left Delhi to seek help from Bahadur Nahar Mewati.[4] This further encouraged Sultan Muhammad Shah, who, on receipt of a message from the Delhi amirs, abandoned his journey to Samarqand, marched upon the capital, and ascended the throne on 19th Ramazan 792/31st August, 1390.

Malik Sarwar, who had struggled so sincerely for Muhammad Shah, was at this time replaced by Amir Hajib Sultani, who had provided Sultan Muhammad Shah with the golden opportunity. Under the new cognomen of Islam Khan, Amir Hajib Sultani

[1] Yahya, p. 148. *Tabaqat*, I: 245. Firishta, I: 275.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 422a, is the only authority to throw light on this fact, whereas others who are the later authorities neither mention this fact nor agree with Muhammad Bihamid Khani's (contemporary of the Sharqis) statement about the conferment of the title (*Sultan-ush-Sharq*) on Malik Sarwar at this stage.

[3] Yahya, p. 149. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 423. *Tabaqat*, I: 246. Firishta, p. 276. 'A. Baqi, I: 385.

[4] Bahadur Nahar Mewati was the founder of the ruling family of Khanzadahs of Mewat. The political confusion that followed the death of Sultan Firuz and the recurring civil war provided ample opportunity to this Mewati chief to play the part of king maker. He first helped Sultan Tughluq Shah and then Sultan Abu Bakr Shah against Muhammad Shah. He also helped the rival candidate for the throne of Delhi, Nusrat Shah, against Sultan Mahmud Shah, and was put in charge of the fortress of Delhi during the political struggle, till the invasion of Timur, who honoured him with great courtesy. See B. S. Mathur, "Role of Bahadur Nahar Mewati in the Politics of the Later Tughluqs Period.", *J. I. H.*, April, 1960, p. 43.

became wazir and Malik Sarwar was appointed his *Na'ib.*[1] Inspite of his demotion Malik Sarwar remained loyal to his patron and served him with great devotion.

Now the way was altogether clear for Sultan Muhammad Shah, who managed the affairs of the government on the advice of his na'ib wazir. He had hardly secured peace in the capital when in 794/1394, news arrived that the Rais of Dalmau and the Hindus of Qannauj were in rebellion.[2] Muhammad Shah sent Islam Khan, the wazir, to quell the rebellion, but his effort did not meet with success. At this Sultan Muhammad Shah personally marched upon the rebels, suppressed them and also laid the foundation of a fort by the name of Muhammad Abad for the future security of the area.[3] He was still at Jalesar superintending the building of the said fort when Malik Sarwar informed him that Islam Khan intended to go to Multan in order to stir up a rebellion.[4] Sultan Muhammad Shah hurried to Delhi (Rajab 795/June 1392) with the army of Jalesar and after an inquiry executed Islam Khan.[5] On this occasion Malik Sarwar was again promoted to the post of wazir.[6]

From now on Malik Sarwar held the same post till Sultan Muhammad Shah's death, and served the latter with great sincerity. Sultan Muhammad Shah also trusted him implicitly,

[1] Yahya, p. 150 *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 425a. *Tabaqat*, I: 246. Tahir, f. 604a. Bada'uni, I: 261. Firishta, I: 276.

[2] Yahya, p. 151. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Firishta, I: 277. Bada'uni, I: 261.

[3] Yahya, p. 152. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Bada'uni, I: 261. Firishta, I: 276. 'A. Baqi, I: 387.

[4] Yahya, pp. 152-3. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Firishta, I: 276. 'A. Baqi, I: 387.

[5] Yahya, p. 153. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Firishta, I: 276. Yahya is wrong to call him Jajar and also Firishta incorrectly calls him Gaju. Yahya further designates Jaju as son of the brother of Islam Khan. Jaju was a Hindu, so he is mistaken in calling him Islam Khan's relative. He also mentions Jaju's nephew, who was later with him at the time of bearing false testimony. Though Islam Khan denied the charges levelled against him, after an unsatisfactory investigation he was executed on the evidence of only one witness, Jaju.

[6] Yahya, p. 152. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Bada'uni, I: 261. Firishta, I: 276. 'A. Baqi, I: 387.

even sometimes quitting the capital and leaving all the affairs of his empire in his hands.

At the end of 1393 Sultan Muhammad Shah went to superintend the erection of the fort of Muhammad Abad at Jalesar, leaving Malik Sarwar in charge of affairs in the capital. But Sultan Muhammad Shah's days were now numbered. He fell ill and died there on the 17th of Rabi' I, 796/20th January, 1394.[1] His reign lasted for six years and seven months.[2]

Sultan Muhammad Shah's second son, Humayun Khan, came to the throne (19th Rabi' I, 796/22 January, 1394) and assumed the title of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Sikandar Shah. He confirmed all the high officers in posts which they had held in his father's time.[3] Khwaja-i-Jahan Malik Sarwar, a loyal courtier and tutor of Sikandar Shah, was not only confirmed in his post of wizarat, but was given complete control of the affairs of the Sultanate.[4] He enjoyed great pomp and glory during Sultan Sikandar Shah's short reign. The latter died on 5th Jamadi, I, 796/8th March, 1394,[5] leaving the Sultanate in the hands of his noble wazir.

Now Mahmud, the youngest son of Sultan Muhammad Shah, was the strongest candidate for the throne. Yahya and Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad state that the high nobles and governors of the Empire such as Ghalib Khan, governor of Samana, Rai Kamal-u'd-din, Mubarak Khan Hulaju, and Khwas Khan, governor of Karnal, were not in favour of his succession. They left the city and wanted to go back to their *Jagirs* (fiefs), without taking leave of Mahmud. When Khwaja-i-Jahan Malik Sarwar received this news, he persuaded them to go back to the city, giving them high hopes of

[1] Yahya, p. 154. *Tabaqat*, I: 249. Firishta, I: 278. Bada'uni, I: 263.

[2] Yahya, pp. 154-55.

[3] Yahya, p. 155.

[4] Yahya, p. 155. *Tabaqat*, I: 249. Firishta, I: 278.

[5] Yahya, p. 155. *Tabaqat*, I: 249. 'A. Baqi, I: 389. Bada'uni, I: 263, is mistaken in writing the year of his death 795 A.H. Firishta, I: 278, also incorrectly describes his total rule as one month and fifteen days, whereas others mention one month and sixteen days.

favour, and made them pay homage to their new king. Thus Malik Sarwar's loyalty and love helped the new Sultan, who ascended the throne after fifteen days' struggle, on the 20th Jamadi, I, 796/23 March, 1394.[1] He assumed the title of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud Shah. He was so impressed by the loyalty and services of Malik Sarwar that he confirmed him in his position as wazir.[2] Sultan Mahmud also conferred grand titles and high posts upon other companions of Malik Sarwar. He honoured Muqarrab Khan with the title of Muqarrab-u'l-Mulk and nominated him heir to the throne.[3] Presumably he had no family of his own. 'Abdur Rashid Sultani was made *Barbek* (*Amir Hajib*) with the title of Sa'adat Khan.[4] Malik Sarang received the title of Sarang Khan and was also given the governorship of Dipalpur.[5] Malik Daulatyar Dabir was given the title of Daulat Khan and the post of *'Ariz-i-Mamalik* (Paymaster General).[6]

Though in this way Sultan Mahmud had secured the position at the centre with the help of his wazir, Khwaja-i-Jahan Malik Sarwar, the affairs of the kingdom at this stage were in a deplorable condition. The great nobles were only concerned with their own interests. Political factions in the capital had disturbed the peace of the Empire for a long time. Sultan Mahmud had not yet strengthened his position on the throne, when news arrived that chaotic conditions once more prevailed in Hindustan, Jaunpur and the country around it.[7] In these circumstances

[1] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 250. 'A. Baqi, I: 389. Firishta, I: 275. Bada'uni, I: 264, mentions a wrong date of his succession to the throne in 795/1392-93.

[2] Yahya, p. 156. Firishta, I: 278-9. *Tabaqat*, I: 250.

[3] Yahya, *op. cit.*, Firishta, I: 279. *Tabaqat*. I: 250. Firishta also adds some more information about him. He writes that he was also made *Wakil-u's-Sultani* as well as *Amir-u'l-Umra*.

[4] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 279.

[5] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 279. Yahya is incorrect in saying that he was given the governorship of Dipalpur.

[6] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 250. Firishta, I: 279.

[7] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Bada'uni, I: 264. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a. Firishta, I: 278. Tahir, f. 604a. 'A. Baqi, I: 389.

Sultan Mahmud thought it wise to appoint Malik Sarwar governor of that province, in spite of the fact that his services were much needed at the centre. At the time of his appointment Sultan Mahmud confirmed his title of *Sultan-ush-Sharq*, which had once been bestowed upon him by his patron, the late Sultan Muhammad.[1] He also gave him twenty elephants and a large army, which were urgently needed to quell the rebellion.[2] This happened in the month of Rajab, 796/May, 1394.

Thus Malik Sarwar entered on the second phase of his career. The province entrusted to him was rife with trouble, and on the way to Jaunpur, he had to suppress rebellions at Koil,[3] Etawah, Khor,[4] Kampila[5] and the country around Qannauj.[6] The *Rais* and the *Zamindars* had stopped their payments. Hindu Chiefs had destroyed and looted the forts of his jurisdiction and were ravaging the country.[7] There was lawlessness everywhere and the lives of the ordinary people were not at all safe. Under such circumstances the first thing Sultan-ush-Sharq did was to entitle his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, as *Malik-ush-Sharq* and put

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 422-6 and 450-51. Most of our chroniclers confuse this issue. Some of them mention that on this occasion he was entitled "*Malik-ush-Sharq*," a title far below his standard, as he had already been entitled "Sultan-ush-Sharq" by Sultan Mahmud's father, Sultan Muhammad. Secondly, a person such as Malik Sarwar, who had been wazir of the Tughluq Empire in its last phase most of the time and had at the same time been a loyal servant to the crown, could not be degraded by Sultan Mahmud. Moreover, the title of *Malik-ush-Sarq* was bestowed by Malik Sarwar even upon his adopted son, Malik Qaranfal, during his lifetime. Amongst the later Sharqis Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi had conferred this title (*Malik-ush-Sharq*) even on one of his generals, Malik Maqbul.

[2] Yahya, p. 156. *Tabaqat*, I: 248. Bada'uni, I: 264. Tahir, f. 689b. Hadi, f. 74a. The last two are silent about the elephants and the army.

[3] Koil or Kol (Modern Aligarh).

[4] Khor. This town was founded about the beginning of the 13th century by a Rathor chief. Today it is nothing more than a mound called the Kot or fort of the Khor Rajas. The modern town of Shamsabad was built upon the ruins of Khor by Shams-u'd-din Iletmish. It lies eighteen miles N.W. of district town of Farrukhabad. Dist. Gaz. Farrukhabad, p. 255.

[5] Kampil or Kampila is a village twenty-eight miles N.W. of Fathgarh in the district of Farrukhabad. Dist. Gaz. Farrukhabad.

[6] Yahya, pp. 156-7.

[7] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 604a. Others do not go into details and simply write that the revolt of the Zamindars had given rise to disturbances throughout the kingdom.

him in charge of all the affairs of the capital, while he himself took the army and marched out, subjugating rebels in his territory.[1] Our sources do not provide us with information on the date of his march, the number of his soldiers, the time he took to perform this task and the way his plans proceeded. All we know is that he attacked the rebels of Dalmau,[2] Kara,[3] Awadh,[4] Etawah,[5] Qannauj,[6] Sandila,[7] and Bahraich[8] and suppressed them completely. Having pacified that part of his country, he turned his attention to the country of Bihar and Tirhut in the latter part of the year of 1394. Maharaja Har Raj and Maharaja Kumar Gaj Raj of South Bihar had been in revolt since that time and had disturbed the peace of the country.[9] At this Khwaja Sarwar marched upon them and some fighting took place at Ghausghat.[10] Maharaja Har Raj was defeated and killed, and the city of Bhojpur was sacked. Maharaja Kumar Gaj Raj and Deva Raj could not face the strong forces of Sultan-ush-Sharq and took to flight. Sultan-ush-Sharq subjugated the whole country and established law and order everywhere. The vanquished Ujjainis continued their guerrilla warfare from the hills and jungles for years, but till the death of Sultan-ush-Sharq in 1399 they had no success.[11] Sultan-ush-Sharq, thus completing his

[1] Yahya, p. 157. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10.

[2] Dalmau: Yahya, p. 157. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, ff. 53. Both mention this place whereas others are silent. This place lies on the banks of the Ganges at 26.3 N and 81.3 E. The town of Dalmau is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in the Rai Bareilly district, U.P. Imp. Gaz. XI.

[3] Kara: Yahya, *op. cit.* *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, ff. 53., mention this place whereas others are silent. It lies in Allahabad District, U.P. forty-one miles from the city of Allahabad.

[4] Awadh: Yahya, p. 157. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, ff. 53, U.P. Dist. Gaz. XXIII, pp. 251-57 and 301-306.

[5] Etawah: *Tabaqat*, III: 273. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a, mentions it, but others are silent about this town.

[6] Qannauj: Yahya, p. 157, *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, ff. 59. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 15. Bada'uni, I: 264.

[7] Sandila: *Tabaqat*, III: 273. Firishta, II: 59. Nur-u'l-Haqq, *op. cit.* Yahya incorrectly writes it Sandhiah.

[8] Bahraich: Yahya, p. 157. *Tabaqat*, III: 273. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a.

[9] *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 393.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 393.

foremost duty, returned to his capital with great pomp and glory.

Our chroniclers tell us that the Rais of Jajnagar[1] (Orissa) and the king of Lakhnauti had stopped paying their annual tribute and elephants, which they used to send to Sultan Firuz Shah of Delhi.[2] Sultan-ush-Sharq, who had remained occupied in warfare since his arrival at Jaunpur, now appointed his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, to accomplish the task of subduing them.[3] The latter marched upon them with a large army and, quickly suppressing them, forced them to pay regularly the annual tribute and elephants which were due to the rulers of Delhi.[4]

Sultan-ush-Sharq Khwaja-i-Jahan had now acquired great power and was almost independent in his command. On the other hand the Sultanate of Delhi was in eclipse. Mallu Iqbal Khan had gained great power in the capital and Sultan Mahmud was just a puppet in his hands. All the provincial governors were enjoying some measure of independence. In the meantime news arrived that Amir Timur of Samarqand, having conquered the Panjab, was now approaching Delhi. Sultan Mahmud, whose throne was already unstable because of the presence of a rival candidate, Nusrat Shah, found circumstances unfavourable to him, and left Delhi to seek refuge, first with Zafar Khan of Gujarat, and then with Dilawar Khan of Malwa. Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar who was at the height of his power at that time, and was observing the affairs of Delhi very

[1] Jajnagar of the Muslim historians of the 14th century was an area roughly corresponding to the Orissa of later times.

[2] Yahya, p. 157. *Tabaqat*, I: 251 and III: 273. Bada'uni, I: 264. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 53a. Nur-u'l Haqq, f. 372a. 'A. Baqi, I: 390. Hasan, f. 416a.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10.

[4] Yahya, p. 157. *Tabaqat*, I: 251 and III: 372. Bada'uni, I: 264. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 53a. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a. 'A. Baqi, I: 390. Hasan, f. 416a. Bindraban, f. 203b. Hasan, f. 416a the latter does not include the *Rais* of Jajnagar in his account. He is also incorrect in describing the rulers of Lakhnauti and Bengal. Bengal or Lakhnauti means the same. Lakhnauti used to be the capital of Bengal in those days. The author of *Jaunpur Nama*, though, mentions Bengal in his account, yet he is not clear about the Rais of Jajnagar. He simply states that the Rajas of South and North Bihar were defeated by Malik Mubarak and were made to give rich presents as tribute, and this state remained a Sharqi feudatory from then on.

keenly, decided that this was a propitious time to declare his independence. He gave himself the title of *Atabak-i-A'zam*[1] (The Greatest Lord) and also struck coins and had the *Khutbah* recited in his name.[2] We have no specimen of his coins, however, whereas the coins of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Sharqi rulers have been discovered and identified.[3] But the matter is still hopeful, because many Sharqi coins which have been found are yet to be deciphered.[4]

Atabak-i-A'zam Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar soon afterwards also conquered the territory of Koil,[5] Sambhal,[6] and Rapri,[7] and thus extended his kingdom quite close to Delhi.

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10. He is the only authority who mentions his new title Atabak-i-A'zam.

[2] *Ibid. Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 426 and 427. Tahir, f. 689a. Ghulam Hasan, f. 6a. Firishta, II: 591. Hadi, f. 694a. Firishta incorrectly remarks that he was planning to strike coins and have the *Khutbah* recited on his behalf, when he suddenly died.

[3] S. A. Shere, "Kings of the Jaunpur Dynasty and their Coinage", *JBORS*, XXVIII, Patna, March, 1942, pp. 285-95. H. M. Whittel, Numismatic supplement, *J.A.S.B.*, XVIII, pp. 10-15. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, (*The Sultans of Delhi and their Contemporaries*). A supplement to Vol. II, p. 115. C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Muslim Sultans of Delhi and their Contemporaries*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 105. S. L. Poole, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*The Muhammadan States*), London, 1885, p. 89. Also see Appendix A, "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans."

[4] Sayyid Hasan Askari, "Discursive Notes on the Sharqi Monarchy of Jaunpur", *Indian History Congress Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Session*, Aligarh, 1960, part I, pp. 154-162, writes that the collection of coins in the Patna Museum has not yet been deciphered. He also says that in Bihar there are many copper coins of the Sharqis in private collections. Etawah, Bada'un, Aligarh, Sultanpur and Allahabad have inscriptions dating back to the Sharqis. These inscriptions have not yet been deciphered and published, which, if done, may cast light on this point.

[5] Koil (Modern Aligarh): Yahya, pp. 156-157. *Tabaqat*, III: 273. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a. Firishta, II: 590. Hasan, f. 415b. Hadi, f. 94a. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10.

[6] Sambhal: Yahya, *op. cit.*, incorrectly writes it "Kambal." All our chroniclers except Yahya are silent about this town under Sultan-ush-Sharq. Sambhal is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in Moradabad. D. G. U.P. VII: 253-270.

[7] Rapri: *Tabaqat*, III: 273. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a. Firishta, II: 593. Hasan, f. 415b. Hadi, f. 94a. Bindraban, f. 203b. 'A. Baqi, I: 97. Rapri is now a small village in Shikohabad *Pargana* Mainpuri District U.P. 26.59 N. and 78.32 E. on the left bank of the Jamuna. When Timur invaded Delhi, affairs there became more chaotic. Sultan-ush-Sharq found the circumstances favourable, captured those towns, and added them to his kingdom.

What were the boundaries of his jurisdiction, and how big was the kingdom over which he ruled independently for more than five years? Sultan-ush-Sharq ruled over the richest parts of Hindustan. All our sources agree that his boundary in the north started from Koil (modern Aligarh), including all the rich districts of what is today known as Uttar Pradesh, and stretching north-east to the district of Tirhut in North Bihar, and touched the boundary of Nepal and the Himalayan Tarai. On the west side not only was the area with Qannauj as its centre and including its adjacent territory, under him, but also the city of Bhojpur, the capital of Maharaja Har Raj and Maharaja Kumar Gaj-Raj, and the area up to the boundary of Ujjain were under him. In other words, all the territories of Baghel Khand and Bundel Khand, including the Bhopal State, were included in his kingdom. The whole territory of North and South Bihar was also included, and the Rais of Jajnagar and the rulers of Bengal were his feudatories.[1]

Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar was in the prime of his power when he suddenly died. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* writes that several thousand men from all parts of Sultan-ush-Sharq's empire followed his funeral, lamenting.[2] The date of his death is controversial. Yahya places the event in Rabi' I, 802/November, 1399.[3] Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad says that his rule lasted for sixteen years.[4] He has been followed by Nur-u'l-Haqq and Hadi.[5] They are all obviously incorrect, as their statement does not fit in with the fact that dated coins of the third ruler, Ibrahim Shah, were issued in the year A.H. 803/1400. Firishta and Khwaja 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, who follows him, give us the total reign of Sultan-ush-Sharq as six years and some months, but they

[1] See the map of the Sharqi Sultanate, p. 381.

[2] *Kings of the East*, p. 18.

[3] Yahya, p. 159.

[4] *Tabaqat*, III: 237.

[5] Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372a, is altogether wrong in mentioning the date 810/1407. Hadi, f. 94a.

are also incorrect,[1] since a reign of this length would allow no time at all for the second ruler, Mubarak Shah. According to Yahya, Sultan-ush-Sharq had marched towards Jaunpur in Rajab 796/May 1394, and died in Rabi' I, 802/November 1399, as has been mentioned above. Thus Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar ruled over his kingdom for about five years and six months as a governor as well as an independent ruler.

Sultan-ush-Sharq was a man of integrity and a lover of peace and justice, according to Muhammad Bihamid Khani, a very close judge of Sharqi traditions.[2] His short reign was full of peace and prosperity.[3] When he was posted to Jaunpur, the whole country was practically in revolt. He suppressed the rebels,[4] completely restored the forts,[5] and garrisoned them with troops under capable commanders.[6] His dignity and grandeur appealed so much to the Zamindars as to convert them into regular payers of revenue.[7] Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar was a man of religious pursuits and encouraged many prominent 'ulama and mystics to settle in the different parts of his kingdom in order to work for Islam. He was a disciple of Makhdum Akhi Rajgiri who in turn was a disciple of Makhdum Jahanian Jalal Bukhari.[8] Sultan-ush-Sharq had on occasion sought Makhdum Akhi Rajgiri's blessing for the kingship of Jaunpur.[9] Besides often corresponding with him on conflicting matters of religion, he had visited Makhdum Akhi Rajgiri several times in order to pay him homage.[10]

[1] Firishta, II: 591. 'A. Baqi, I: 97-98.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 427a.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 273.

[4] 'A. Baqi, I: 389. Sujan Rai, f. 198a.

[5] Yahya, p. 157.

[6] Firishta, III: 591.

[7] Nur-u'l-Haqq, p. 372.

[8] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 64.

[9] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a.

[10] *Ibid.*

He was also talented, and a great lover of art and architecture. When he arrived at Jaunpur, he found it in ruins. There was not even an official residence. He converted *Yagi Mandal*, a building standing amid the ruins of the buildings of Raja Vijaya Chandra, into his royal palace and, after furnishing and remodelling it, he renamed it *Badi' Manzil*[1] (The Wonderful House). At the same time the incomplete fort of the city, once founded by Sultan Firuz Shah, was also completed.[2] He also renamed the city *Dar-u'l-Surur* (The Abode of Bliss).[3]

The many beautiful buildings in it justified the name of the city and testified to Sultan Malik Sarwar's cultural taste. Of these buildings we find hardly any traces today. The city *Dar-u'l-Surur* later developed into a cultural centre attracting men of letters, saints and sufis from far and wide.[4] Rich traditions of art, culture and literature grew, flourished and persisted. Two hundred and fifty years later Shah Jahan, the great Mughul Emperor, connoisseur of art and beauty, praised the city,[5] calling it *Shiraz-i-Hind* and *Dar-u'l-'Ilm* (The Abode of Knowledge).

(B) *Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi* (1399-1401)

When Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar died in Rabi' I, 802/ November 1399, his adopted son, Malik Mubarak Qaranfal ascended the throne with the consent of the Sharqi Amirs and assumed the title of Sultan Mubarak Shah.[6]

Our chroniclers do not throw any light upon his real name, and even his descent is the subject of much controversy. Yahya, Bada'uni, Nur-u'l-Haqq (the author of *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*), Tahir,

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.

[2] 'Afif, p. 149. Sultan Firuz Shah had founded this fort in 772/1372 at a time when the foundations of this new city were being laid. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See for details, Chapters VII and VIII.

[5] Ghulam Hasan, f. 4b.

[6] *Tabaqat*, III: 274. Firishta, II: 591..

Hasan, and Bindraban are mistaken in taking his nickname, Malik Qaranfal, as his real name.[1] Firishta is altogether wrong in calling him Malik Wasil and so is Ghulam Hasan, who incorrectly writes Qaranfal as his father's name.[2] The authors of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Jaunpur Nama* are the only two authorities who seem to be right in giving his original name Malik Mubarak or Mubarak Khan as well as his nickname, Qaranfal.[3] In the same way his descent as described by Yahya, the contemporary historian (1434), is a controversial issue. Yahya says that he was a nephew or cousin of Khizr Khan, son of Malik Sulaiman, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi, and thus claims him to be a Sayyid.[4] Maulawi Fasih-u'd-din mentions him in one place as the son of the sister of Sayyid Khizr Khan (1414-21) of Delhi, and in another as a water-bearer of Sultan Firuz. Ghulam Hasan also incorrectly describes him as a *Dabkash* slave of Sultan Firuz Shah.[5] Sir Wolseley Haig and R. C. Majumdar are also of the opinion that the Sharqi rulers were of Negroid blood and that Mubarak Shah was an African or Abyssinian slave.[6] Perhaps they have taken this indication from the word '*Qaranfal*' (clove). Actually '*Qaranfal*' in Arabic classical poetry was an appreciative term of beauty, and it was probably given to him by his adoptive father as a pet name because of his swarthy complexion. Furthermore Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, 'Abdul Qadir Bada'uni, and Ni'mat Ullah write that the mother and the wife of Sultan Husain Sharqi were princesses of the Royal Sayyid family of Delhi.[7] Also his son, Jalal Khan, as has been narrated by Khair-u'd-din Muhammad, was married to the daughter of Nasib Shah (1493-1519), a

[1] Yahya, p. 169. Bada'uni, I: 272, *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 37b. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 372b. Tahir, f. 689b. Hasan, f. 416a. Bindraban, f. 203b.

[2] Firishta, I: 289. Ghulam Hasan, f. 7-8.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 274. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 16.

[4] Yahya, pp. 181-182. *Kings of the East*, pp. 35-36.

[5] Ghulam Hasan, f. 7b.

[6] *C. H. I.*, III: 259. R. C. Majumdar, p. 187.

[7] *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 42b. Bada'uni, I: 272. Ni'mat Ullah, p. 55.

Sayyid ruler of Bengal.[1] In the light of these facts it is quite clear that he was a Sayyid, as the Royal Sayyid families of Delhi and Bengal would not have given their daughters in marriage to a brother or to the descendants of an Abyssinian slave.

As regards his early career all our chroniclers are silent except one, Khair-u'd-din Muhammad. Even he gives us only very brief information about Sultan Mubarak's role previous to his accession to the throne. He writes that Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar had entitled Mubarak Malik-ush-Sharq during his lifetime and had placed him in charge of the affairs of the central government.[2] Khair-u'd-din further writes that Mubarak was once also sent on an expedition against the ruler of Bengal and the Rais of northern and southern Bihar. These he successfully subdued and made them pay tribute.[3] Nothing more is known about his life before his succession to the throne.

At this time Sultan Mahmud Shah of Delhi had fled to Gujarat owing to the invasion of Timur. In his absence Mallu Iqbal had defeated the rival candidate to the throne, Nusrat Shah, and had become the master of Delhi.[4] He was now planning the recovery of Jaunpur after Sultan-ush-Sharq's death. When he heard of Sultan Mubarak Shah's accession as the second independent ruler of that territory, he could not bear this news and decided to march upon him. In the month of Jamadi, I, 803/January-February, 1400, he set out, accompanied by Shams Khan, governor of Bayana, and Mubarak Khan and Bahadur Nahar

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36. The daughter of Sultan Mubarak Shah's brother and successor, Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was married to Sayyid Murtza, son of the famous scholar and saint, Makhdum Sayyid Asad-u'd-din, *Aftab-i-Hind*, of Zafarabad, *D. G. India*, XXVIII, p. 331.

[2] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 15-16. *Tabaqat*, III: 274.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 15-16.

[4] *Tabaqat*, III: 274.

Mewati.[1] When they reached the banks of the Ab-i-Siyah[2] near Patiali,[3] Rai Sir[4] and all the *Zamindars* of that territory who were in close alliance with Sultan Mubarak Shah came out to oppose them.[5] The second day a battle took place in which the allies of the Sharqis were routed. They took to flight and were pursued by Mallu Iqbal's forces up to Etawah. Thus Mallu Iqbal now reached Qannauj, near the banks of the Ganges, and encamped there.[6] In the meanwhile Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi took with him a large army consisting of Rajputs, Afghans, Mughuls and Tajiks, and with rapid marches advanced to oppose the enemy,[7] until he reached the bank opposite to that occupied by Mallu Iqbal's forces. Both armies were now facing each other, but neither had the courage to cross the river, so after two months of weary waiting they came to terms and returned to their respective capitals.[8]

Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad also mentions Mallu Iqbal's second attack upon Mubarak without giving any details.[9] Firishta and Khair-u'd-din Muhammad throw some further light on this fact. They write that Sultan Mubarak Shah had just reached Jaunpur

[1] *Ibid.* Yahya, p. 169. Bada'uni, I: 272. He is the only authority who calls Mubarak Khan son of Bahadur Nahar. Yahya, p. 169, writes the date of this happening Jamadi, II, 803/December-January, 1400-1401, whereas *Tabaqat*, I: 257, and also Firishta, I: 289 writes Jamadi, I, 803/January-February, 1400-1401. I accept the latter, as it fits in with the rest of the circumstances.

[2 & 3] Yahya, p. 169. *Tabaqat*, I: 257. Bada'uni, I: 272. Yahya is correct in calling Patiali a town situated on the banks of the Ab-i-Siyah, *i.e.*, Kali Nadi. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, incorrectly calls it Baitali and he is further mistaken in locating it on the banks of the river Ganges. Actually the stream Ab-i-Siyah, known also as Kali Nadi, is situated between the Jamuna and the Ganges. See Bada'uni, I: 272 and also *Imp. Gaz.* III: 327.

[4] Rai Sir, *Tabaqat*, I: 257. Yahya, p. 169, incorrectly describes it as Rai Sabir.

[5] Yahya, p. 169. *Tabaqat*, III: 274. Bada'uni, I: 272.

[6] Yahya, p. 169. *Tabaqat*, I: 257. Bada'uni, I: 272.

[7] *Tabaqat*, III: 274.

[8] Yahya, p. 169. *Tabaqat*, III: 274. Bada'uni, I: 272. Firishta, II: 592. Bada'uni is silent about this opposition which lasted for two months.

[9] *Tabaqat*, III: 274.

when news arrived that Sultan Mahmud Shah, having come back from Gujarat and Malwa, was now accompanying Mallu Iqbal, and both were marching upon Jaunpur. Sultan Mubarak Shah marched out to oppose the enemy, but, while on his way, he suddenly fell and died.[1]

We do not know the exact date of this event. The year of his death has been given by Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Tahir, Firishta and Hasan, as 804/1401, which seems to be incorrect, as it does not correspond with the rest of his circumstances.[2] Bada'uni mentions the year of his death as 803/1401, which seems to be correct, as it corresponds with the year of the succession of the next Sharqi ruler, Ibrahim, whose coins of the same year have come to light.[3] If we place Mallu Iqbal's attack upon him in Jamadi, II, 803/1400, a date given by Yahya as well as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, it seems that Sultan Mubarak Shah died probably some time in the middle or the latter half of that year.[4] Thus his total reign lasted for one year and a few months.[5] The chroniclers mention that he struck coins, but no coins bearing his name, or that of his father, have so far come to light.

It is clear from the foregoing account that Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi's short reign was free from any grave disturbance.[6] Muhammad Bihamid Khani, a contemporary historian, remarked that he ruled his subjects with great justice, love and affection.[7]

[1] Firishta, II: 591. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 17.

[2] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.*, Firishta, II: 592. Hasan, f. 416b. Tahir, f. 605a.

[3] *Bada'uni*, I: 272-73.

[4] Yahya, p. 169. *Tabaqat*, III: 273.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 273. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, p. 59. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 272b. Firishta, II: 592. Hasan, f. 416a. Hadi, f. 94a. Tahir, f. 605a, incorrectly describes his total reign as lasting for two years.

[6] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 427a.

[7] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

The Sultanate in its Full Glory

Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi

Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi's brother, Ibrahim Sharqi, now succeeded to the throne with the consent of the Sharqi Amirs and assumed the title of Sultan Ibrahim Shah.[1] Sujan Rai mentions him as the adopted son of *Sultan-ush-Sharq* Malik Sarwar.[2] Most of our chroniclers agree that he was the younger brother of Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi.[3] His date of accession is also controversial. Yahya, who has been copied by others such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmed, Firishta, Tahir, Hasan, Khwaja 'Abdul Baqi, Hadi and the authors of *Tarikh-i-Haqqi* and *Jaunpur*

[1] Yahya, p. 170. *Tabaqat*, III: 275. Bada'uni, I, Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 373a. Tahir, f. 690a. Hasan, f. 417b. Firishta, II: 592. The latter writes that he assumed the title of Shah Ibrahim Shah. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 427a. He gives him a very high-sounding title, *i.e.*, *Shams-u'd-Dunya wad-din Abul-Fath Ibrahim Shah*.

[2] Sujan Rai, f. 202a.

[3] *Ibid.* The only exception is Baqi, I: 99, who incorrectly describes him as the elder brother of the former. *Kings of the East*, mentions his original name as Malik Ikram.

Nama, gives 804/1401.[1] Yahya points out that this even coincided with the joint attack upon Jaunpur of Mallu Iqbal and Sultan Mahmud Shah of Delhi, in which the latter finally made his escape at Qannauj.[2] But his earliest coin is dated 803/1400-1401 and this positively fixes his year of accession.[3] This date incidentally is also supported by Bada'uni's evidence.[4] It seems that he succeeded to the throne some time in the middle or the latter half of that year.

We do not know much about his early career. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad throws some light upon his very small role during the reign of Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar. He writes that Mubarak Shah once went out to suppress some rebellion during his adoptive father's reign. He left Ibrahim in charge of the capital. Maulawi Fasih-u'd-din also mentions him as a viceroy during the reign of his elder brother, Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi. In the light of the above statements it seems that Ibrahim had been commanding a prominent position as an administrator.[5]

The first important incident which took place in the next year of his reign in 804/1401 was the joint attack of Mallu Iqbal and Sultan Mahmud Shah which, as has already been mentioned, took place in the reign of Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi. Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi had not fully established his position in Jaunpur. But he marched out to oppose the enemy. Both the armies encamped near Qannauj and skirmishes took place for a few days. Distrustful of Mallu Iqbal, owing to his past behaviour, Sultan Mahmud did not feel sure of his position. Therefore, one

[1] Yahya, p. 171. *Tabaqat*, I: 274. Bada'uni, f. 56b. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 59a. Firishta, II: 591. Tahir, f. 605b, Hasan, f. 416a. 'A. Baqi, I: 397, *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10.

[2] Yahya, p. 176.

[3] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*The Muhammadan States*), p. 94. Also see Appendix "A", "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans" and Ibrahim's coin dated 803 A.H. on plate No. XIX, "The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans", p. 341.

[4] Bada'uni, f. 60a.

[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36; *Kings of the East*, p. 37.

night, before the commencement of war, on the pretext of going on a hunting excursion, he went to Sultan Ibrahim Shah, but the latter treated him with great discourtesy.[1] Sultan Mahmud felt insulted and took his way to Qannauj, which was then under the Sharqis. He expelled from there prince Fath Khan Harawi, the Sharqi governor of Qannauj, and took possession of the city.[2] He received a warm welcome from all the grandees and nobles and the people of the city, who showed him great love and respect. Thus left alone, Mallu Iqbal beat a retreat to Delhi. Sultan Ibrahim, too, now returned to his capital.[3]

The next year Sultan Ibrahim turned his attention towards the neighbouring vassal state of Tirhut.[4] Tirhut, as mentioned before, had been subdued by Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar in 1394, and since that time its ruler, Ganesvara, used to send a regular tribute to Jaunpur. In 1402 Malik Arslan, being ambitious, attacked and killed Ganesvara and captured Tirhut. Ganesvara's successor, Kirti Singh, struggled for his right and also sought help from Delhi and Bengal. Being disappointed, he at last turned to Ibrahim Shah Sharqi for help. The latter sent a large force under the command of one of his generals, Malik Muhammad Ghani. Qazi Khwaja Makhdum and Manuhar Raja also joined him. The Sharqi army with rapid marches crossed the Gandak. Malik Arslan came out to oppose them. At the battle which took place on the field of Raipur, Arsalan was defeated and killed. Kirti Singh was confirmed as the Raja of Tirhut, and his accession was celebrated in the presence of Sultan

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 434b, but he is silent about Mahmud's seeking refuge with Ibrahim. According to him, Sultan Mahmud, on the pretext of hunting, straight away went to Qannauj. *Tabaqat*, I: 258, does not mention about his pretext of hunting. He simply writes that he went to Sultan Ibrahim and when the latter showed his discourtesy, he left for Qannauj.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 258. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 434b, Hasan, f. 416b, is mistaken in writing Shahzadah Fath Khan's name as Amirzadah Purqawi. Firishta, I: 289, is silent about the name of the governor of Qannauj.

[3] Yahya, p. 171. Bada'uni, I: 273. *Tabaqat*, I: 258.

[4] Tirhut is an ancient territory comprising the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, and a strip of south Nepal.

Ibrahim.[1]

Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was very contented at Qannauj, had within a few years much strengthened his position, and was thus becoming a threat not only to the future peace and prosperity of the Sharqi Kingdom but also to the authority of Mallu Iqbal at Delhi. The latter decided to crush him and, taking a strong force in 807/1404-1405, besieged Qannauj. Sultan Mahmud's army fought loyally and courageously. Mallu Iqbal, failing to make an impression, retreated to Delhi.[2] Sultan Ibrahim, considering Mahmud's growing power at Qannauj a threat to his security, decided to retake it. He besieged the fort, but failing to conquer it, returned to Jaunpur, after patching up a peace with Mahmud.[3]

In the next year, on 19th Jamadi, I, 808/12th November, 1405, the powerful *de facto* ruler of Delhi, Mallu Iqbal, was killed in a battle by Khizr Khan Sayyid, the governor of Multan.[4] This cleared Sultan Mahmud's way to Delhi and he was at once summoned from Qannauj by Daulat Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan and other amirs. Leaving Qannauj in the hands of Malik Mahmud Tarmati, he proceeded to Delhi, where in the following month, in Jamadi, II, 808/November-December, 1405, he once again sat on the throne of his great ancestors.[5] Sultan Ibrahim was determined to reconquer Qannauj, his former territory, and was waiting for a favourable opportunity. So in Jamadi, I, 809/

[1] *Kirti Lata*, pp. 14-18.

He gives a detailed description of the grandeur of the royal procession of Sultan Ibrahim, which paraded through the streets of the capital.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 434b. *Tabaqat*, III: 276.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 344b, is the only authority to mention Sultan Ibrahim's attack uponQannauj while Sultan Mahmud was there. It happened probably in the same year 1404, as this corresponds with the circumstances and as Sultan Mahmud was called to Delhi the following year.

[4] Yahya, p. 176. *Tabaqat*, I: 260. Bada'uni, I: 274. Mallu Iqbal was killed near Ajodhan, *i.e.*, Pakpatan in the modern district of Montgomery, West Panjab. Bada'uni incorrectly mentions the month as Jamadi, II.

[5] Yahya, p. 174. *Tabaqat*, I: 261. Bada'uni incorrectly writes Malik Mahmud Tarmati's name as Malik Mahmud Tarbati.

October-November, 1406, he advanced upon it. Learning of this, Sultan Mahmud marched out from Delhi to oppose Sultan Ibrahim. With the Ganges between them, the two armies faced each other for a few days. The engagement which followed proved indecisive. Peace was concluded. After this both went back to their respective capitals.[1]

Having arrived at Delhi, Sultan Mahmud sent back his allied officers to their respective *jagirs*. Sultan Ibrahim, finding that the situation was now favourable to him, soon returned to the siege of Qannauj. Malik Mahmud Tarmati, who was there on behalf of Sultan Mahmud, boldly defended the fort for about four months. Failing however to get any reinforcement from Delhi, he begged Sultan Ibrahim for peace and surrendered Qannauj.[2] Sultan Ibrahim, leaving there a strong garrison under the supervision of Governor Ikhtiyar Khan, came back to Jaunpur.[3]

This success encouraged him to march upon Delhi. In Jamadi, I, 810/October, 1407, he assembled his forces and started his march. While he was on his way, some amirs of Delhi such as Tatar Khan, son of Sarang Khan, Nusrat Khan Gurgandaz and Malik Marhaba, being attracted by his strong position, left their Sultan and joined him.[4] He first attacked Sambhal[5] which, like Qannauj, was another stronghold in his way. Asad Khan Lodi, the governor of the place on behalf of Delhi, could not stand against him and after two days' fighting abandoned the place and fled. Sultan Ibrahim having appointed there Tatar Khan

[1] Yahya, p. 175. *Tabaqat*, I: 260. Firishta, I: 291.

[2] Yahya, p. 175. *Tabaqat*, I: 261. Firishta, I: 290. Tahir, f. 65 as well as f. 690a.

[3] Yahya, p. 175. *Tabaqat*, I: 261, and III: 277. Firishta, I: 290. 'A. Baqi, I: 399.

[4] Yahya, p. 176. Bada'uni, I: 275b. *Tabaqat*, I: 261. The latter, in III: 277, is mistaken in writing Gurgandaz as Karkandaz. In the same way in one place, I: 261, he correctly writes Malik Marhaba but in the other, III: 277, is mistaken in writing "Malik Marjan". Both Yahya and the author of the *Tabaqat* agree that he was a slave of Mallu Iqbal Khan.

[5] Sambhal lies twenty-two miles west of Muradabad.

continued his march towards Delhi.[1] He was also able to conquer the town of Baran and appointed there Malik Marhaba.[2] When he reached the banks of the Jamuna near Delhi his good fortune deserted him. News arrived that Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati, having conquered Dhar, the capital of Malwa, and arrested Alp Khan, *i.e.*, Sultan Hushang Shah of Malwa, was approaching Jaunpur. Sultan Ibrahim at once marched back to Jaunpur.[3]

His retreat gave a chance to the monarch of Delhi to retake his lost territories. Collecting his forces Sultan Mahmud first attacked Baran (Bulandshahr), in the month of March 1408. Instead of giving battle, the Sharqi governor of the fort, Malik Marhaba, fearing defeat and shame, as he had already betrayed Sultan Mahmud on an earlier occasion, slew himself.[4] Thus Baran fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud,[5] who now marched ahead to recover Sambhal. The governor of the fort, Tatar Khan, lost heart and without putting up any resistance fled to Qannauj. The Sultan entrusted it to Asad Khan Lodi and returned to Delhi, where some other problems were awaiting him.[6]

For several years Sultan Ibrahim remained in his capital and spent most of his time improving his administration. To strengthen the security of his empire, he built many forts in different parts of the country, where strong garrisons were stationed under capable commanders. Jaunpur, the capital, was decorated with beautiful buildings, notable among them being the magnificent

[1] Yahya, p. 176. *Tabaqat*, I: 277.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 277. Bada'uni, I: 275-76. Yahya is silent about it. Baran *i.e.*, Bulandshahr. Hasan, f. 417a, is mistaken in writing the name of Malik Marhaba as Malik Zia Dad.

[3] Yahya, p. 176. Hasan, f. 417a. Yahya incorrectly writes the name of Alp Khan as Alb Khan. He mentions Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati's coming over to Jaunpur, but Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) is silent about this fact. Hasan writes that Sultan Ibrahim retreated from Jamuna on hearing of the arrival of Sultan Mahmud (of Delhi) but actually he retreated, owing to his fear of Muzaffar Gujarati. Sujan Rai, f. 202b and f. 203a.

[4] Yahya, p. 176. *Tabaqat*, I: 262. Firishta, I: 291. Bada'uni, I: 275-76.

[5] Yahya, p. 176. *Tabaqat*, I: 262. Firishta, I: 291.

[6] Yahya, p. 176. *Tabaqat*, I: 262. Firishta, I: 291. Bada'uni, I: 275-76.

palace known as "*Chihal Situn Mahal*",[1] and the beautiful tomb of Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar. In the same period was completed the exquisite "Atala Mosque", whose foundation had been laid by Sultan Firuz Shah.[2]

The chronic instability in neighbouring territories offered too tempting a field for Sultan Ibrahim's ambition. During all these years the Sultanate of Delhi had been passing through many catastrophic changes. Many nobles of Delhi had transferred their allegiance to Daulat Khan Lodi or Khizr Khan Sayyid, both of whom had eyes on the throne of Delhi. Sultan Mahmud Shah's dying efforts could only with great difficulty save the throne.[3] He died in Rajab 815/November, 1412.[4] Daulat Khan, against whom Khizr Khan was still contesting, assumed power. This rapid change at Delhi alarmed Sultan Ibrahim, who was keenly looking forward to a development favourable to his cousin or uncle, Khizr Khan.[5] Daulat Khan with a view to strengthening his position further, attacked many parts of the Doab and received tribute from their Rais and Amirs.[6] Sultan Ibrahim, who was keenly observing all the changes at Delhi, was looking for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, but the State of Mahmudabad Kalpi[7] was another stronghold in his way. The State of Mahmudabad had been founded by Mahmud Khan (1390-1411).[8]

[1] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 238.

[2] A. Fuhrer, p. 38. This mosque was completed in 1408.

[3] Yahya, pp. 177-80. Khizr Khan besieged the citadel of Firuzabad in 811/1408 and in 814/1411, taking along with him Malik Mubariz and Malik Idris, the governor of Rohtak, attacked the city of Siri.

[4] Yahya, pp. 180-181.

[5] According to Maulawi Fasih-u'd-din, *Kings of the East*, p. 37, Sayyid Khizr Khan of Delhi was his uncle as well as father-in-law. He writes that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was married to his daughter, Malika Khatun.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 2. He had subdued Mubarak Khan Bada'uni, Rai Nar Singh and other Rais of the neighbouring territories as well.

[7] Kalpi is in Jalaun District, U.P. Lat. 26°8′ N and Long. 79° 45′ E. It lies on the ravines of the Jumuna, twenty-two miles from the town of Jalaun. The old Kalpi state, however, included many *parganas* of the present Kanpur District. Imp. Gaz. XXV: 175.

[8] A. H. Nizami, "Biramdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora", *J. I. H.* (1954), p. 146.

It was situated between the kingdoms of Malwa and Jaunpur, and because of that it remained a bone of contention for more than half a century among the powers of Jaunpur, Malwa and Delhi. The tyrannical attitude of its ruler, Qadir Shah (1411-32), towards his subjects annoyed Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and he became eager to suppress him. In the latter half of 1411 Qadir Shah, at the instigation of Rai Sir, attacked Bhongaon and devastated the adjoining territory. This provided a pretext for Sultan Ibrahim to attack him. The latter, leaving the matter of Delhi aside for the present, marched upon Qadir Shah's capital (Muharram 816/April, 1413).[1]

Our chroniclers except Muhammad Bihamid Khani mention this event casually without giving any details.[2] According to Muhammad Bihamid Khani, Sultan Ibrahim, taking with him a large army including elephants, advanced upon Mahmudabad. Qadir Shah, who was still busy devastating the territory, of Bhongaon, received a message from his brother, Fath Khan, to the effect that Sultan Ibrahim was advancing upon the country, and the people of the city of Mahmudabad were becoming very restless and frightened and needed his help. Qadir Shah ordered his scattered forces to assemble and proceed quickly to the capital. Rai Sir, the renowned warrior, also accompanied him. When he reached Mahmudabad, his nobles joined him to oppose the Sharqi Sultan.[3] The next day Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was able to besiege the city. For some days fighting and killing took place, but as no conclusion was reached Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.[4]

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 449b. He is mistaken in mentioning the name of this place as Behto Kano. This place is Bhongaon, ten miles from the town of Mainpuri. Jarrett, *A'in*, II: 195.

[2] Yahya, p. 175. *Tabaqat*, I: 264. Bada'uni, I: f. 283b. Firishta, I: 292-93. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 449b and f. 550a, but he is silent about the date.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 449b. But he is wrong to write Rai Sir as Rai Sabir.

[4] *Ibid.*, mentions that suddenly some of the Sharqi elephants became ill. This, however, does not seem an adequate reason for Sultan Ibrahim's inability to take the city.

Sultan Ibrahim had not forgotten his malice against Qadir Shah. He again marched upon Mahmudabad[1] with a large cavalry and many elephants. Biramdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora, who bore a grudge against Mahmudabad because of Mahmud Khan's sack of Ghora Arail and Paryag, also joined Sultan Ibrahim this time.[2] The Sharqi forces with rapid marches fell upon Mahoba and Rath, which were captured within a short time and were handed over to Jalal Khan bin Da'ud Khan, brother of Malik Zahir-u'd-din, as their governor.[3] Soon after this Shahpur was captured and put in the charge of Hasan Khan bin Maskin, one of Sultan Ibrahim's nobles.[4] Sultan Ibrahim further sent a large force under his own minister and muster-master, Malik-ush-Sharq Maqbul, along with Biramdeo to besiege the strong fortress of Iraj.[5] When the operations commenced Biramdeo was posted at the river gate.[6] Muhammad Bihamid Khani, author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi,* who was at that time governor of the said fortress, fought against them. A battle took place in which a large number of people were killed. After a great struggle the fortress was conquered and with it also fell the towns of Bhandir and Jehtra. Malik-ush-Sharq Maqbul gave the governorship of Iraj to Ja'far bin Da'ud and Bhandir was handed over to Khizr Ayyub.[7] The Sharqi general now marching along the banks of the Jamuna proceeded to join Sultan Ibrahim, who was already encamped a few miles away. The united forces advanced upon the village of Shaikhpur, where Qadir Shah opposed them.[8] The Sharqi force used catapults and naphtha engines. Many enemy officers and soldiers and

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 450a.

[2] A. H. Nizami, "Biramdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora," *J.I.H.* (1954), p. 146.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 450b.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* Also see A. H. Nizami, "Biramdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora," *J.I.H.*, (1954), p. 146.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 451a.

[8] *Ibid.*, ff. 451.

civilians were killed. Fearing the horrors of the battle, the Muslim population of the city sent appeals for mercy to Sultan Ibrahim. Qadir Shah and his nobles, finding their situation untenable, also sued for peace and thus managed to save their capital by accepting the vassalage of Jaunpur.[1] The Sultan agreed to their proposal, and through his minister, Malik-ush-Sharq Maqbul, sent rich presents worthy of their status, to Qadir Shah, the latter's minister, Nizam Khan, Daulat Khan bin Junaid Khan, and all the high and low nobles.[2] In turn Nizam Khan and all the other Mahmudabadi nobles came to pay homage to Sultan Ibrahim.[3] *Khutbah* was ordered to be read in his name at Mahmudabad as well as in other parts of the dominion and coins were also ordered to be struck in his name.[4]

Sultan Ibrahim Shah now asked Nizam Khan, wazir of Qadir Shah, to accompany him on his return march to Jaunpur.[5] But after Nizam Khan's return from Jaunpur, Qadir Shah assembled a large army and recaptured Mahoba and Rath and from there Jalal Khan was forced to flee.[6] Qadir Shah deputed Daulat Khan bin Junaid Khan to reduce Iraj but the Sharqi governor, Ja'far Da'ud, was strong enough to defeat him.[7] But two years and four months later he was murdered and the fortress fell to Mahmudabad.[8]

In the same year (1414) Sultan Ibrahim was informed by Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam, the celebrated Pandua saint, about the tyranny of Raja Ganesh over the Muslims of Bengal.[9] Raja Ganesh, the *de facto* ruler of Bengal, had attained complete

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 451.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 452.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 452.

[9] Ghulam Husain, "*Riaz-u's-Salatin*", Calcutta, 1890, Vol. III: quotes Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam's letter.

ascendancy over Saif-u'd-din Hamza Shah (1405-10) and his son, Shams-u'd-din (1410-14).[1] He was bent upon extirpating Muslim rule in Bengal and was also hostile to the leading Muslim mystics and divines. His senseless persecution and assassination of the Muslims has been mentioned in Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam's letters addressed to a contemporary saint, Sayyid Jahangir Samnani, as well as by Sultan Ibrahim.[2] The Shaikh asked Sultan Ibrahim to come to Bengal to save the Muslims. Sultan Ibrahim marched with a well appointed force upon Bengal. Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi was also in his train. On his way to Bengal the Sultan had to overcome the opposition of Shiv Singh of Tirhut.[3] The latter had succeeded to the throne of Tirhut after the death of the childless Kirti Singh. He too was oppressing the Muslims of Tirhut at the instigation of Raja Ganesh.[4] Sultan Ibrahim's forces attacked and defeated the Raja, who fled. But he was pursued by the Sharqi forces and was finally captured. His stronghold, Lahra, was also taken. Finally his father, Deva Singh, the dispossessed Raja of Tirhut, was restored to the throne on the condition of allegiance and loyalty.[5] This was an

[1] The Raja Ganesh affair has been ignored by some of our historians, such as Ishwari Prasad (p. 317) and Jadu Nath Sarkar (*History of Begnal II*, pp. 25-29). On the other hand, the chroniclers who have mentioned the event, such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*, III: 265), Firishta (II: 578), Ghulam Husain Salim (*Riaz-u's-Salatin*, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 109-114) and 'Abdur Rehman Chishti (Mir'at-u'l-Asrar, B. M. MS. OR 216, f. 423b) are mistaken in writing that he succeeded to the throne of Bengal after Shams-u'd-din (1431-42) and ruled for seven years. This neither corresponds with the rule of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi nor with that of Bengali rulers contemporary with him. The fact is that Raja Ganesh, who is spoken of by many as a big Zamindar of Dinajpur, attained complete ascendancy over Saif-u'd-din Hamza Shah (1410-12), and the latter was a mere puppet in his hands. When Saif-u'd-din died in 1412, he was succeeded by his adopted son, Shihab-u'd-din Bayazid (1412-14), who also died after a short and inglorious reign. During this period Ganesh oppressed the Muslims of Bengal so much that they began to flee—a fact which is quite clear from the correspondence of saints such as Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam (letter quoted in *Riaz-u's-Salatin*, p. 111), and Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani (*Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, B. M. MS BM. OR 267. Letter No. 45, pp. 92-94), who were his contemporaries.

[2] Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, B.M. MS., OR 267, ff. 92-94 (Letter No. 45), *Riaz-u's-Salatin*, p. 111.

[3] Sayyid Hasan Askari, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress Aligarh, 23rd Session*, Part I, 1960, pp. 154-162.

[4] Sayyid Hasan Askari, *B.P.P.* (67) 1948, p. 37.

[5] Sayyid Hasan Askari, *B.P.P.* 1948, p. 37.

important victory; from this time onward Tirhut remained subject to the Jaunpur kingdom for about a hundred years.[1] Sultan Ibrahim erected a mosque there as well as a residence for Makhdum Shah Sultan Husain, the *Khalifah* of Makhdum 'Ala-u'l-Haqq of Panduah, who was then a renowned mystic of Tirhut.[2] He then continued his march towards Bengal. Raja Ganesh, learning of this, became so frightened that he at once made his peace with Shaikh Nur-Qutb-u'l-'Alam. He sought his forgiveness and requested him to persuade Sultan Ibrahim to withdraw his army. Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam acceded to his request on condition that Raja Ganesh's younger son would be converted to Islam and that the Raja would desist in future from oppressing the people of Bengal. The Raja's son, Jadu, was converted to Islam and, assuming the title of Jalal-u'd-din Muhammad (1414-31), ascended the throne. At the request of Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam, Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.[3]

Next Sultan Ibrahim turned his attention towards Ujjain. Here Maharaja Har Raj had been defeated and killed, and Kumar Gaj Raj and Deva Raj had been put to flight by Sultan-ush-Sharq in 1394. The vanquished Ujjainis had continued their irregular warfare from the hills and jungles and after the death of Sultan-ush-Sharq, Gaj Raj had re-occupied Karoor. In 1416 the rebellious attitude of Jag Deo, Gaj Raj's younger brother, again compelled the Sharqi Sultan to lead an expedition against Ujjain. Sultan Ibrahim's forces fell upon Karoor and re-occupied it, and both Gaj Raj and his brother were again sent into the wilderness. Their successor, Sangram Dev, continued irregular warfare till the death of Sultan Ibrahim, but could not succeed in gaining the upper hand.[4]

Sultan Ibrahim now enjoyed unbroken peace for ten years and during this period he employed his leisure in the encouragement

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Riaz-u's-Salatin*, pp. 112-114.
[4] *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 393-94.

of art and architecture. Our chroniclers pay very high tribute to his benevolent attitude towards great scholars, divines and wise men of his age. Many of these had come to Jaunpur from western Hindustan where Timur's invasion had left a blaze of anarchy and confusion. Indeed, Jaunpur had now earned the appellation of *Dar-u'l-Aman*, (The Abode of Peace). Firishta, Hadi[1] and others write that not only the scholars of great reputation from different parts of Hindustan, but also from foreign lands such as Iran found refuge and patronage at his court and made it as colourful as that of the courts of Iran. They further write that these learned scholars and artists came in such numbers that Dar-u'l-Aman (Jaunpur) became a second Delhi and better than Isfahan.[2] As described by the author of *Mir'at-i-Jahan Numa*, Jaunpur, because of their work, became the most flourishing literary centre of the early fifteenth century.[3] Its court was adorned with such luminaries as Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, Maulana Ilah-Dad, Khwaja Abul-Fath, Shaikh Muhammad 'Isu Taj Chisti, Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Gumbadi and many others, who wrote works on theology and law and organized the study of Arabic and Persian in that period.[4] Most learned among them was Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, who was one of the greatest scholars of the age. He was entitled *Malik-u'l-'Ulama* by Sultan Ibrahim and was honoured with the post of a *Qazi-i-Quzat* (Chief Justice) of Jaunpur. The Sultan built for him a special Madrasa (a College or a University of Islamic Studies), as well as an imposing residence by the side of the great mosque, and also provided him with a silver chair in the Assembly.[5] Abul-Fazl mentions him as

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 275. Firishta, II: 592.

[2] Hadi, ff. 94-95. Firishta, II: 592.

[3] *Mir'at-i-Jahan Numa*, f. 312b.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 170. *Tabaqat*, III: 275. Firishta, II: 595-98. Hadi, f. 94b and f. 95a. Firishta writes that Qazi Shihab-u'd-din originally came from Ghazni. He was brought up and educated at Daulatabad in the Deccan and also lived in Delhi. Sayyid 'Usman, originally from Shiraz, went to Delhi and later on took refuge at Jaunpur. Likewise many others came to Jaunpur. For their detailed study, see Chapters VII and VIII.

[5] *Tabaqat*, III: 275. Firishta, II: 595. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 373a.

a man famous for his wisdom and learning. He wrote many books and treatises, such as *Kitab-i-Arshad, Sharh-i-Hindi, Usul-i-Ibrahim Shahi, Rasalah-Manaqib-u'l-Sadat, Sharh-i-Kafiya, Bahr-i-Mawwaj* and others, several of which were dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim.[1] According to Yahya and others Sultan Ibrahim's literary and spiritual activities won him so high a fame that none of the kings of his age can be compared with him.[2] The long interval of peace enabled him to construct magnificent mosques such as Chahar Ungli Masjid and Jhanjri Masjid which stand to this day.[3]

But peace did not last long, as the peculiar circumstances at Mahmudabad (Kalpi) and Delhi again demanded his attention. Qadir Shah's oppressive behaviour towards his subjects compelled the Sharqi Sultan to quell him. He marched upon Mahmudabad in the early part of the year 831/1427. Qadir Shah became frightened and wrote to Delhi where now Sultan Mubarak Shah, son of Sayyid Khizr Khan, was in power and with whom he had a nominal alliance.[4] Sultan Mubarak Shah was at that time on his way to pursue Muhammad Khan, the dispossessed governor of Bayana, who had already left for the court of Sultan Ibrahim to seek help. While Sultan Mubarak Shah was on his way, he received news from Qadir Shah that the Sharqi Sultan had marched upon him with a well-equipped army.[5] Yahya, the court historian of Sultan Mubarak Shah, is the only authority to give a detailed account of this happening. Later analysts such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Firishta, Bada'uni, Hasan, and Tahir have followed Yahya's account, but have omitted certain relevant

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 275. Firishta, II: 595. Nur-a'l-Haqq, f. 373a.

[2] Yahya, p. 207. *Tabaqat*, I: 277. Firishta, I: 301. Bada'uni, f. 60a.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. For details see Chapter VI on Architecture.

[4] Yahya, p. 207, Firishta, II: 592, gives the date as Muharram 831/Ocotber-November, 1427. *Tabaqat*, I: 277, incorrectly writes the year of this happening as 830/1426. Bada'uni, I: 182-83, agrees with Yahya in mentioning the year, but he is silent about the month.

[5] Yahya, p. 207. *Tabaqat*, II: 255. Firishta, I: 301, and II: pp. 594-95.

points.[1] Now Yahya writes that Sultan Mubarak Shah kept the matter of Bayana in abeyance, and advanced to meet his Sharqi opponent. At this stage the Sharqi troops had already attacked and captured Bhongaon and were now advancing towards Bada'un.[2] Learning of Sultan Mubarak Shah's proceedings, he deputed a large force under Mukhtas Khan, his brother, to attack the Delhi army. The latter with rapid marches reached Etawah.[3] Sultan Mubarak Shah, crossing the river Jamuna, devastated the village of Jartauli,[4] and went on to attack Atrauli.[5] From the latter place he deputed his general, Malik-ush-Sharq Mahmud Hasan with 10,000 brave and experienced horsemen to oppose Mukhtas Khan, the Sharqi general. But the latter, finding his opponent strong, returned and rejoined Sultan Ibrahim.[6]

Sultan Ibrahim decided finally to attack the Delhi forces. Keeping to the bank of Ab-i-Siyah (Kali Nadi) Sultan Ibrahim came near Burhanabad, one of the dependencies of Etawah.[7] In the meanwhile Sultan Mubarak Shah, who was at that time encamped

[1] Yahya, p. 207. *Tabaqat*, I: 277. Firishta, I: 301. Bada'uni, I: 292-93. Hasan, ff. 417. Tahir, f. 606a, as well as f. 690a. Hasan and Tahir just give a passing reference to this matter and at the same time are mistaken in placing this incident in the reign of Sayyid Khizr Khan Sayyid. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) like them is mistaken in mentioning this event in one place in the reign of Khizr Khan Sayyid and in the other in the reign of Sultan Mubarak Shah. Firishta is mistaken in writing that Muhammad Khan was responsible for persuading Sultan Ibrahim to come to Bayana. Actually when Sultan Mubarak Shah heard that the latter was going to subdue his nominal vassal, Qadir Shah, ruler of Mahmudabad, he advanced towards Bayana to stop Sultan Ibrahim's attack upon Qadir Shah.

[2] Yahya, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, I: 277-78. Firishta, *op. cit.*, Bada'uni, I: 292-93. Yahya incorrectly writes Bhongaon as "Bhukanus" and the author of *Tabaqat* as well as Firishta as "Bhu Kanu". This place is in the Mainpuri district, 9½ miles east. *Imp. Gaz.*, II: 403. Bada'un is about fifty miles from Bhongaon.

[3] Yahya, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, I: 277-78. Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, *op. cit.*

[4] Jartauli lies twenty-eight miles N.E. of Aligarh on the road from Aligarh to Muradabad. Atrauli lies sixteen miles N.E. of Aligarh. *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 180. A'in, II: 180.

[5] Yahya, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, I: 277. Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, *op. cit.* Yahya incorrectly writes Jartoli in one place as Chaitoli and in the other as Atrauli.

[6] Yahya, p. 207. *Tabaqat*, I: 278. Firishta, I: 301. Firishta incorrectly mentions Mukhtas Khan as Mukhlis Khan. Muhammad Bihamid also incorrectly mentions this as the name or title of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.

[7] Yahya, p. 208. *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, I: 292-93.

at Atrauli, advanced upon him, and both the armies met near Mali Kotah where fighting took place (Jamadi, II, 831/February-March, 1427).[1] The Sharqi Sultan, finding himself outnumbered, left the battlefield and turned towards Rapri. From there he crossed the Jamuna and reached the bank of the river Kaithar where he encamped. Sultan Mubarak Shah pursued him and, crossing the river Jamuna at Chandwar,[2] also encamped at a distance of about five miles from him. Skirmishes between the two armies went on for twenty days, the Sharqis losing horses, cattle and prisoners in large numbers to the enemy.[3] At last Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi attacked the Delhi army. Sultan Mubarak Shah, finding his position weak and dangerous, at once ordered his nobles, Mahmud Hasan, Fath Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffar, Zirak Khan, Islam Khan, Malik Chaman, the grandson of Khan-i-Jahan, Malik Kalu, the superintendent of the elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfah and Maqbul Khani, to oppose Sultan Ibrahim unitedly.[4] Both the armies fought till evening, but the approach of darkness forced them to return to their respective tents, Jamadi II, 831/24 March, 1428. As both armies had suffered heavy losses, the two Sultans left the field next day.[5] Sultan Ibrahim came back to Jaunpur, but Sultan Mubarak Shah proceeded towards Gwalior and from there to Bayana, where Mahmud Khan Auhadi, who had in vain sought help from Sultan Ibrahim, was attacked and defeated, but at his request was pardoned. To guard the fort and for the administration of the province Mahmud Hasan was left there and the Sultan himself with rapid marches reached Delhi on the 11th Sha'ban, 831/June, 1428.[6]

[1] Yahya, *op. cit. Tabaqat, op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, *op. cit.*

[2] Chandwar, an ancient village on the left bank of the Jamuna in the present Agra Dist., U.P. It lies three miles west of Faizabad.

[3] Yahya, p. 207. *Tabaqat*, I: 276. Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, I: 293. Yahya, and Bada'uni write twenty-two days whereas others mention it as twenty days. Bada'uni is silent about cattle, horses and prisoners.

[4] Yahya, p. 209. *Tabaqat*, I: 276. Firishta, I: 302. Bada'uni, I: 293. *Tabaqat* is mistaken in mentioning Malik Ahmad and Maqbul Khani as one person. They are two different nobles.

[5] Yahya, *op. cit. Tabaqat, op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, *op. cit.*

[6] Yahya, pp. 209-12. *Tabaqat*, I: 278. Firishta, *op. cit.*

In the year 835/1432-33, Sultan Ibrahim took a hand in the war of succession which took place among the sons of Qadir Shah. Muhammad Bihamid Khani is the only chronicler to supply us with a detailed account of this important event of Sultan Ibrahim's reign.[1] Other chroniclers, including Yahya and Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, make just a passing reference to this happening in the account of the reign of Sultan Mubarak Shah of Delhi. They mention that while Sultan Mubarak Shah of Delhi was preparing to take part in this affair, he was killed by some one.[2]

When Qadir Shah died in 1432, his wazir Nizam Khan, son of Firuz Khan, and the superintendent of the affairs of the country, Mubarak Khan, son of Junaid Khan, crowned Qadir Shah's second son, Jalal Khan, instead of his eldest son, Zaghir Khan A'zam Humayun. Zaghir Khan wanted to press his claim, but the wazir of the state and some other high nobles were in favour of Jalal Khan. Zaghir Khan found his position weak and, taking some of his men, went to the court of Sultan Ibrahim to seek help. Sultan Ibrahim treated him with great respect and also conferred upon him the title of *Khan-i-Jahan*. Jalal Khan, who was a weak and ease-loving prince, became immersed in pleasure, and owing to his negligence great disorder occurred in the affairs of the state. The nobles now turned against him. He was imprisoned and finally sent to the territory of Chanderi, which he held as *jagir* from his uncle, Sultan Hushang Shah of Malwa.[3] Firuz Khan now succeeded him at Mahmudabad. Sultan Ibrahim, feeling that further injustice had been done to the real claimant of the *gaddi* (throne), marched upon Mahmudabad, taking with him Zaghir Khan A'zam Humayun. Reaching Mahmudabad, he encircled the whole city. Nizam Khan, the wazir, who conducted the defense of the citadel, held the besiegers at bay for about three

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 456a.

[2] Yahya, p. 233. *Tabaqat*, III: 299-300. Bada'uni, I: 295-96. Tahir, f. 606b. Mubarak Shah died in Rajab 837/19 February, 1434, while he was superintending the erection of Mubarakabad.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 456. Jalal Khan was the nephew of Sultan Hushang of Malwa. See *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 456a.

months. Sultan Hushang Shah of Malwa, learning of the situation, marched upon Mahmudabad. Sultan Ibrahim, now concerned to safeguard his own position, raised the siege and, recrossing the Jamuna, encamped opposite the city. In the meanwhile, Sultan Hushang had approached the city and was honourably received by wazir Nizam Khan. Mubarak Khan and all other nobles of the state went out to pay him homage. He decided the issue in favour of his nephew, Jalal Khan, who was brought back again to be placed upon the *gaddi* with great pomp and show.[1]

Sultan Ibrahim, finding the situation not favourable for Zaghir Khan A'zam Humayun, made over to the latter the fort of Shahpur,[2] while he himself returned to Jaunpur. Jalal Khan after some time again started ill-treating his nobles and subjects. Many of the nobles were arrested without any reason. Mubarak Khan, the superintendent of the affairs of the state, being much disgusted, decided to leave the capital. He retired to his own *jagir* in the territories of Iraj. Jalal Khan now stepped up his oppressive measures. He had even Nizam Khan and also the sons of Ya'qub Khan and 'Umar Khan arrested and subjected to disgraceful treatment. Some of the people who thought that someone named 'Umar Khan was responsible for all the trouble in the city, captured him and murdered him. This provoked reprisals and counter-reprisals resulting in many murders. Fearing further dreadful happenings, some of the nobles left for Jaunpur to seek Sultan Ibrahim's help. The latter received them cordially and showed them much honour. Sultan Hushang Shah, learning of this development, marched with a big army towards Mahmudabad by way of Sultanpur (also known as Khajwah). Arriving in the vicinity of Mahmudabad he rested for some days on the banks of the river Jamuna. From there taking along with him Jalal Khan as well, he advanced rapidly on Mardanpur, where on the other side of the Jamuna, Sultan Ibrahim was already

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 456-457.

[2] This fort, previously conquered by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, belonged to the state of Mahmudabad.

encamped. Crossing the river Sultan Hushang Shah fell upon the Sharqi forces. In the indecisive battle that followed both sides suffered losses, Sultan Hushang Shah's being the heavier. To avoid protracted involvement, he left Jalal Khan at Mahmudabad and returned to his own country.[1]

Many Mahmudabadi nobles who had joined Sultan Ibrahim were determined to capture the city. So they persuaded him to march once again upon Mahmudabad. Advancing with rapid marches, Sultan Ibrahim once again besieged the city. Mubarak Khan, son of Junaid Khan, the wazir of the state, along with many other nobles as well as the people of the city, finding their position weak now, joined Sultan Ibrahim. At this Jalal Khan, losing hope, came out of the fort with a few of his horsemen and went away towards the town of Bhandir. The city of Mahmudabad fell into the hands of the Sharqi Sultan, who handed it over to Zaghir Khan A'zam Humayun. But the latter, not fancying his new role, abdicated in favour of his brother. Taking his elephants and other equipment he vacated the city and went to the territory of Haseenpur. When Sultan Ibrahim heard about this he called for Mubarak Khan, the wazir, and asked him to fetch from Bhandir Jalal Khan to whom he sent a robe of honour and valuable presents. Jalal Khan was re-enthroned and Sultan Ibrahim now returned to his own capital.[2]

In 839/1435 Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi received complaints about the oppressive rule of Sultan Shams-u'd-din Ahmad Shah (1431-32) of Bengal. He assembled an immense army and marched upon Bengal. None of our chroniclers have mentioned this incident except Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the contemporary historian, who also gives the aforesaid date. According to him Sultan Ibrahim besieged the fort of Ikdala. Here Muhammad Bihamid Khani closes his account of the invasion abruptly and does not mention the result of the invasion. Probably Sultan Shams-u'd-

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 457b.
[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 458, 459.

din Ahmad Shah submitted, and promised to restore peace in his kingdom, after which Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.[1]

His last expedition against Delhi has been recorded with some minor details by Tahir and Khair-u'd-din Muhammad.[2] The rest of our chroniclers such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad and Firishta[3] mention it only in a passing reference in the account of Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Sultan Mubarak Shah (1421-34) of Delhi. In 1437 Sultan Muhammad Shah's weak position encourged Sultan Ibrahim to march upon Delhi with an immense army.[4] He advanced *via* Gwalior, where the Rai and other Rais of the region made their submission and offered him tribute.[5] On his way to Delhi he captured some of the *parganas* of the Delhi territory. Arriving near the capital, he laid siege to it.[6] Sultan Muhammad Shah finding his position weak sought for peace and friendship by offering a matrimonial alliance. Sultan Ibrahim's son, Mahmud Khan, was married to Sultan Muhammad Shah's sister, Bibi Raji, and thus with great pomp and glory Sultan Ibrahim returned to his capital.[7]

Sultan Ibrahim did not live long after this. Some of our historians such as Firishta and Hadi would have us believe that the death of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, whose scholarship and piety had won him great love and respect in the Sultan's heart, caused the latter so much grief that he became ill.[8] Hadi writes that although the physicians treated him, no improvement

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, ff. 427.

[2] Tahir, ff. 606, 607. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 19.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 291. Firishta, I: 312.

[4] Tahir, ff. 606b and 607a. *Jaunpur Nama*, p.12. The latter is incorrect in mentioning the date of this incident 838/1434, which does not correspond with Sultan Ibrahim's other affairs.

[5] Tahir, ff. 606b and 607a.

[6] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 12. Ghulam Hasan, ff. 8b and 9a.

[7] *Kings of the East*, p. 41.

[8] Firishta, II: 595. Hadi, f. 95a. Both write that once when Qazi Shihab-u'd-din fell ill, the Sultan went round his bed with a cup of water which he drank, and prayed to God to turn the calamity from the head of the scholar to his own self.

resulted and he died.[1] His date of death, like that of his ancestors, is also controversial. Muhammad Bihamid and Nur-u'l-Haqq only mention the approximate period of his reign as forty years and do not mention the year of his death.[2] Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad also says he ruled for forty years, but inaccurately places the Sultan's death in 840/1436.[3] Firishta is wrong in giving him a total reign of thirty-eight years and so is Tahir, who makes it forty-two years.[4] Hasan, Khair-u'd-din Muhammad and Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis, the author of *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, are correct in giving the year of his death as 844/1440. Coins bearing his name and the date, 844 A.H., have also been found, and confirm the information. This makes his total reign forty years and a few months.[5]

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi is considered to be one of the greatest rulers of Hindustan of the fifteenth century. During more than forty years of his reign Jaunpur attained fame and prosperity. When he was crowned, the kingdom was still in a shaky position, as its foundations had not yet been consolidated. Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar died when the kingdom was only just in its infancy. The next ruler, Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi's reign lasted only one year and a few months. When Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne his enemies on all sides were eager to annex Jaunpur. The neighbouring kingdoms of Bengal and Delhi were far more powerful than Jaunpur. The Rajput Rajas and chieftains were looking forward to throwing off their yoke at any time. Thus Jaunpur was face to face with internal as well as external dangers. Sultan Ibrahim waged wars on all sides in order to establish his authority. His dealings with the Rajput

[1] Hadi, f. 95a.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 427a. Nur-u'l-Haqq, ff. 229b.

[3] *Tabaqat*, II: 291.

[4] Firishta, II: 595. Tahir, ff. 606b and 607a.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 59b. Hasan, f. 417b. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 13. S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*The Muhammadan States*), London 1885. Also see Appendix 'A', "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans."

powers such as those of Tirhut and Ujjain and others showed admirable statesmanship. He subjugated them and secured their loyal support, which helped him as well as his successors in the campaigns. His victory over Sultan Hushang of Malwa, who fought on behalf of Mahmudabad, secured the vassalage of Mahmudabad (Kalpi) to the Sharqis for more than half a century. His political as well as matrimonial alliances with the rulers of Bengal and Delhi further strengthened his position. Thus Sultan Ibrahim not only enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom but also established it on a very sound footing. His other achievements in the field of art and culture were no less remarkable. His benevolent patronage attracted many scholars of Hindustan and of foreign lands to Jaunpur. Sages such as Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal, Sayyid 'Usman Shirazi, Makhdum 'Isa Taj Chishti, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Khwaja Abul Fath Sombras, Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri, Shah Madar, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Radaulwi and Shah 'Abdullah Shattari and 'Ulama such as Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, Maulana Khwajgi, Malik-u'l-Qazi Shihab u'd-din and Maulana Ilah Dad Muhashshi were encouraged by him to adorn Jaunpur. They called this cultural city the Shiraz of India. He enabled them to preach and teach Islam and pursue their work single-mindedly. Many of their books and treatises on Islamic law and philosophy were dedicated to him and immortalized his name in this way.

The medieval chroniclers have paid him high tribute. Muhammad Bihamid Khani, a contemporary historian, writes that he ruled his subjects with great justice and gave them peace and love and affection.[1] Nur-u'l-Haqq and Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis, the author of *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, add that he was gentle and benevolent and a patron of learning. He had great love for learned scholars, *sufis* and saints.[2] Hadi pays tribute to his bravery and describes him as highly cultured in all respects.[3]

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, f. 427a.

[2] Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 37a. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 59a.

[3] Hadi, ff. 94-95.

Ghulam Hasan says that he was a king of pious nature and a great friend of artists and scholars and had respect for the saints and sufis.[1] The author of *Subh-i-Sadiq* says that he was deeply learned. He was considerate towards his servants and took good care of them. He also enquired into the affairs of the poor and the indigent.[2]

Maulana Fasih-u'd-din has justly remarked about him as follows, "It would not be too much to say that in Sultan Ibrahim were combined to a greater or less extent some of the distinguished characteristics of the eminent Mughul Emperors who ruled over India in the two succeeding centuries. He had the warlike instinct of Babur, the administrative and literary talents of Akbar, the generosity of Jahangir, the taste in architecture of Shah Jahan, and the religious fervour of Aurangzeb."

[1] Ghulam Hasan, f. 8a.

[2] *Subh-i-Sadiq. Vide* Sayyid Hasan Askari, *Proceedings of the Historical Congress 23rd Session Aligarh*, Part I, 1960, p. 35.

CHAPTER IV

The Sultanate in its Full Glory (Concluded)

(A) *Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi* (1440-1457)

At the death of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in 844/1440, his eldest son, Mahmud Khan, succeeded to the throne and assumed the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah.[1] Sultan Mahmud inherited a vast kingdom. Like his father he was a strict Muslim and took interest in the well-being of Islam not only in his own country but also beyond his territories.

The first important incident of his reign, which took place in 1442, the second year of his reign, was his invasion of Bengal.[2]

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 278. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, f. 59b. Firishta, II: 595. Hasan, f. 417b. 'A. Baqi, I: 101. Hadi, f. 95a. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 13. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 37b. Nur-u'l-Haqq only mentions his name, Mahmud Khan, as being that of the eldest son. Firishta does not give his real name and calls him the eldest son (of Sultan Ibrahim). S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*The Muhammadan States*). Also see Appendix A "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans," Mahmud Shah's Coin dated 844 A.H. on plate No. XIX.

[2] R. C. Majumdar, p. 173, is mistaken in writing that the first important incident of his reign in 1440 was his attack upon Delhi. He confuses it with Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa's attack upon Delhi in 1440. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi attacked Delhi in 856/1452. *Tabaqat*, I: 301.

Most of our chroniclers have either ignored the event altogether or have barely mentioned it without giving any reason for the attack. The earliest mention of the invasion (846/1442) occurs in *Matla' u's-Sa'dain* of 'Abdur Razzaq, an ambassador of Shah Rukh, the ruler of Herat, to Vijayanagar, but the writer neither mentions the name of the ruler of Jaunpur of that time, nor any reason for the attack.[1]

The reason for Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi's invasion of Bengal is to be sought in the fact that the rule of Sultan Shams-u'd-din Ahmad Shah (1431-42) of Bengal was cruel and oppressive. Towards the end of his reign his tyranny became unbearable and threw the whole country into anarchy.[2] Sultan Shams-u'd-din Ahmad Shah, finding that he was unable to stand against the powerful Sharqi invader, appealed to Shah Rukh of Herat.[3] Shah Rukh sent Shaikh-u'l-Islam Karim-u'd-din Abul Mukarram Jami with a message to the Sharqi king, forbidding under threat of dire consequences any aggression against the kingdom of Bengal. Sultan Mahmud Shah therefore refrained from interfering with the kingdom of Bengal.[4]

The following year (847/1443) reports were brought to Sultan Mahmud Sharqi that the town of Shahpur, which was larger and more populous than Mahmudabad, had been completely devast-

[1] *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*, ed. M. Shafi' Lahore, 1942. II: 782-83. R. H. Major, "*India in the fifteenth century*," p. 15. The latter does not meution the name of the ruler of Jaunpur of that time. He also writes Jaunpur as Djounahpur. The editor (M. Shafi') of "*Matla'u's-Sa'dain*" is mistaken in writing in his text the name of Sultan Ibrahim as the ruler of Jaunpur at that time. 'Abdur Razzaq was sent to the court of Bijapur in 846/1442, whose contemporary ruler of Jaunpur was Mahmud Sharqi.

[2] J. N. Sarkar, II: 129. *C.H.I.*, III: 267.

He is mistaken in mentioning that this happened in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim and that the latter invaded Bengal.

[3] *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*, pp. 782-83. R. H. Major, p. 15.

[4] *Matla'u's-Sa'dain. op. cit.* R. H. Major, *op. cit.* 'Abdur Razzaq provides us with some other interesting consequences of this event. He writes that as soon as the ruler of Calicut heard about the threat of Shah Rukh to Sharqi Sultan, he (the ruler of Calicut) despatched an ambassador with valuable presents to the ruler of Herat and assured the latter that his name and illustrious titles would be read in that part of the country in *Khutbah* of *Juma'* prayers as well as on solemn feast days.

ated by Nasir Khan (son of Qadir Shah, the ruler of Mahmudabad (Kalpi), and that the Muslims had been banished from their homes. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi felt himself in duty bound to take action on their behalf against Nasir Khan, but thought it prudent first to consult the Sultan of Malwa, Mahmud Khalji, with whom Nasir Khan had a nominal alliance. So he sent an ambassador to Malwa with valuable presents, with a message to the following effect: "Nasir Khan, son of Qadir Khan, the ruler of Kalpi (Mahmudabad), has turned from the strict path of the law of the Prophet, has adopted the ways of heresy and heterodoxy, has given up the practice of fasting and prayer, and has made over Muslim women to Hindu *Na'ikas* so that they may teach them the art of dancing.[1] As from the time of Sultan Hushang of blessed memory to the present day, the chain of attachment and the relation of affection has become strengthened between the two parties, it appears obligatory on men under the behest of *Qazi-i-'Aql* (reason) that I should reveal this (matter) to your just and loving mind. If you permit, I shall chastise him and establish the tenets and rites of the religion of Islam in that part of the country."[2] Sultan Mahmud Khalji bestowed upon the Sharqi ambassador a robe of honour and the customary monetary award, then dismissed him with the following reply: "These matters have come to my hearing in the shape of a false rumour, but now that your honourable self, the leader of the Sultans, has notified them to me, they have reached the standard of definite knowledge, and under the circumstances the destruction of that wicked person is incumbent on all badshas. If my own forces were not engaged in chastising the rebels of Mewat, I would myself advance to destroy him. Now that Your Highness, asylum of Sultanates, has formed your resolution may it be of good omen."[3]

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 279 and 326. Firishta, II: 596. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 374b. 'A. Baqi, I: 101. Tahir, f. 690b.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 279 and 326. Firishta, II: 596. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 374b. 'A. Baqi, I: 101. The latter is silent about presents. Tahir, f. 690b.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 279, 326. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 374b. The latter does not give the details of Sultan Mahmud Khalji's answer and omits it completely.

Sultan Mahmud Shah was so pleased to hear this reply that he sent twenty-nine elephants as a present to Mahmud Khalji.[1] The former now assembled a large army, advanced upon Nasir Khan and expelled him from Mahmudabad, whereupon he fled to Chanderi.[2] Assuming the character of a vassal of Malwa, Nasir Khan wrote a petition to Sultan Mahmud Khalji, in which he complained: "The Sharqi Sultan has turned me out with violence and tyranny from my fief, which was bestowed upon me by Sultan Hushang Shah, and intends to annex not only Kalpi but also Chanderi."[3] Sultan Mahmud Khalji now sent an ambassador, 'Ali Khan, with fine presents to Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi with the message that, as Nasir Khan had repented of his evil acts and had promised to adopt the path of the law of Prophet, he should be left in possession of his territory.[4] Sultan Mahmud Khalji had not yet received the reply of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, when the former received another complaint from Nasir Khan that the Sharqi monarch on account of an old grudge and ancient enmity did not want to leave the country and had also arrested Muslim women and handed them over to *Kafirs*.[5] Thus Nasir's humble and pitiful supplications aroused Mahmud Khalji's sense of honour and manliness. Taking a large army on the 2nd Sha'ban, 848/8th January, 1444, he advanced towards Mahmudabad. When he arrived at Chanderi he was also joined by Nasir Khan. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi now came

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 279 and 327. Firishta, II: 596. Tahir, f. 690b. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad writes in one place, III: 279-80, twenty-nine elephants and twenty in the other, III: 326-27. Firishta copies him in the same manner in both places.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 280 and 327. Firishta, *op. cit.* Firishta does not give the details.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 280. Firishta, *op. cit.*

[4] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* 'A. Baqi, I: 102. Tahir, *op. cit.*

[5] *Tabaqat*, III: 230. Firishta, II: 597. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) is silent about handing over Muslim women to kafirs. Firishta mostly copies Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad's account which in all respects is much exaggerated here. The fact is that a religious-minded king such as Mahmud Sharqi would not have done such a thing. Tahir, f. 690b, makes very brief mention of the rest of the affair. He is silent about the battle and writes that afterwards peace was concluded and then both the kings returned to their respective capitals.

from Mahmudabad to oppose them.[1] Reaching Iraj he also secured the alliance of Mubarak Khan, son of Junaid Khan, the *ex*-wazir (the *Jagirdar*) of the place. In the narrow pass, near the banks of the Jamuna they encamped their forces and safeguarded their position by erecting works around it.[2] Here, both parties continued fighting till the approach of evening, which freed them to return to their respective camps.[3] After a few days, as the rainy season was already approaching, both left off fighting and turned back. Near the village of Rath both the armies met once again and another battle took place in which the Sharqis were defeated.[4] The inhabitants of Rath took refuge in Chanderi.[5] In the vicinity of Rath both the armies engaged for a third time, each side losing many dead and wounded.[6] As the war was protracted Sultan Mahmud Sharqi sent an emissary with a letter to Shaikh-u'l-Islam Shaikh Ja'ilda, who was one of the holy men of the age and whom Mahmud Khalji also held in great reverence. In it he proposed that, as Muslims on both sides were being slain, it was imperative to effect concord and friendship between the contending powers. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi further sent through his emissary an oral message to Nasir Khan that he was willing to make over the town of Rath, and four months after the return of Mahmud Khalji to Malwa, the town of Iraj and other parts of the Kalpi district which had come into Sharqi possession. Shaikh Ja'ilda sent an emissary in the company of his own disciple to Sultan Mahmud Khalji with a letter containing much advice. Mahmud Khalji was of the view that no peace could be made unless Kalpi was immediately handed over. But Nasir Khan, who had been driven out of his territory, considered that the recovery of Rath would be a great boon. Further-

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 281. Firishta, II: 597.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 328.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 281. 'A. Baqi, I: 102.

[4] *Tabaqat*, III: 328-29.

[5] *Tabaqat*, *ibid*. Firishta, II: 490, the latter is silent about the assembling and sending of the people of Rath to Chanderi.

[6] *Tabaqat*, III: 329. Firishta, *op. cit*.

more as Sultan Mahmud Sharqi had made a promise through a holy man such as Shaikh Ja'ilda, it was assumed that there should be no breach of faith. Seeing that the person concerned with the matter was himself satisfied with this arrangement, Mahmud Kahlji summoned the Sharqi emissary into his presence and accepted his proposals on condition that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi would in no way interfere with Nasir Khan and that after four months the Sultan would make over Kalpi and other captured towns to him. After this agreement the Sharqi emissary was dismissed with rewards. Sultan Khalji then went to Mandu and Sultan Mahmud Sharqi to Jaunpur.[1] To celebrate his return to the capital Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, following his father's tradition, generously awarded rich presents to nobles and scholars according to their ranks.[2]

After allowing himself some rest at his capital, and using the time to re-equip himself and make good losses suffered in recent warfare, he marched out to crush the rebels of Chunar. Their chiefs were put to death and their territory was thoroughly plundred. To secure the conquest he appointed there governors with strong garrisons. Thus finalizing the annexation of that part of the country, he returned to his capital.[3]

A zealous Muslim such as his father, he coveted to be called a *Ghazi*. So he declared a holy war upon the infidels of Orissa. Here again our sources do not throw any light upon the internal situation of Orissa, which might have persuaded him to attack it.

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 282 and 329. 'A. Baqi, I: 133-34. Firishta, II: 490 and 597-98.

[2] Firishta, II: 598.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 283. Firishta, II: 598. 'A. Baqi, I: 104. The latter is the only authority who correctly writes the name of this place as "Chunar". Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) incorrectly writes it as Chambaran, and so is Firishta mistaken in calling it Jesawar. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad and Firishta are right to place this incident after the war of the Mahmudabad/Kalpi whereas *C.H.I.*, III, is wrong to place it after the war of 1452 with Sultan Bahlul Lodi, *i.e.*, quite close to the end of his reign. 'A. Baqi is silent about the appointments of the governors. Chunar lies on the right bank of the Ganges, 125.7 N and 83.12 E. It is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in Mirzapur district, U.P.

An inscription of a Jami' Mosque dated 1443, built in the early part of his reign, shows that he had already initiated his plans to spread Islam there.[1] He now launched an attack on Orissa, and in his fervour destroyed many temples. He plundered and devastated the land, capturing much booty.[2] Having laid the foundations of two mosques at Paharpur and leaving learned *Muftis* as missionaries, he returned to his capital with much triumph and glory.[3]

He remained in the capital for some years and spent most of his time in improving the administration of his country. He repaired all the old forts in different parts of his Empire, and stationed there strong garrisons under capable governors. He built many mosques in different parts of his country and appointed learned men for missionary work. His capital, Jaunpur, was also adorned during this period with beautiful mosques, distinguished among them being the Lal Darwazah Masjid (Ruby Gate Mosque).[4] Adjacent to it was the magnificent palace of his favourite queen, Bibi Raji, which was also completed at the same time.[5] He also spent part of his time in the company of *Sufis* and the *'Ulama*. Works of great scholarship were produced during his reign.[6]

Sultan Mahmud was eager now to put forward his claim upon Delhi, where political conditions seemed to favour his ambition. His brother-in-law, Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah, (1445-1478), was a *roi faineant* and the real power was in the hands of his wazir, Hamid Khan. In 852/1448, Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din went to Bada'un a second time, leaving the management of the city under the supervision of his two brothers-in-law; one as the

[1] "*Bihar Through the Ages*," p. 94.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 283. 'A. Baqi, I: 104. Firishta, II: 595. Hasan, f. 418b. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 375a.

[3] *Bihar Through the Ages, op. cit.*

[4] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 52-53. A. Fuhrer, I: 51. It was built in 1447.

[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52.

[6] For details see Chapters VII and VIII.

city police prefect and the other as superintendent of the roads.[1] The brothers were mutually hostile, and prejudiced the affairs of the capital. Eventually one of them was killed by the other, who himself was killed by the people of the city at the instigation of Hisam Khan, the former wazir.[2] Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din, being informed by the opponents of Hamid Khan, wazir, such as Qutb Khan, 'Isa Khan and Rai Partap, that all this had been done by the conspiracy of Hamid Khan, ordered the latter to be arrested and put to death. But Hamid Khan escaped from the prison and fled from Bada'un to Delhi, where he was joined by Hisam Khan. Hamid Khan entered the harem of the Sultan and drove out his wife, sons and daughters bareheaded from the citadel, after which he took possession of the treasures and paraphernalia of sovereignty.[3] Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din was prevented by rains from coming to Delhi to take action against Hamid Khan.[4] This encouraged Hamid Khan to take advantage of the situation and he planned to seat some other candidate on the throne. As Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa was at a distance, he summoned Bahlul Lodi from Sirhind. The latter came to Delhi with a large force and after negotiating with Hamid Khan, took the keys of the citadel on 17th Rabi' I, 855/1451. Later he arrested Hamid Khan and assumed sovereignty.[5] Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's wife was alarmed to know this. She persuaded her husband to lead an expedition against Bahlul.[6] When the latter received

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14. Rai Partap even promised Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din to transfer forty parganas to the crown land. Actually he wanted to take revenge on Hamid Khan. The latter had killed Rai Partap's father in a war and had taken away Rai Partap's mother. Also see *Tabaqat*, I: 297.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 297. A. Halim, pp. 14-15.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 293. A Halim, p. 15.

[5] *Ibid. Jaunpur Nama*, p. 20. The latter incorrectly writes that when the nobles of Delhi invited Mahmud Sharqi from Jaunpur, Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din, knowing this fact, called Bahlul and handed over to him the paraphernalia of the sovereignty and he himself retired to Bada'un—a completely wrong statement.

[6] 'Abdullah, p. 13, but he is mistaken in mentioning her, *i.e.*, Mahmud Sharqi's wife, as the daughter of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din; and so too Ishwari Parasad, p. 428, is mistaken in describing her likewise. Actually she was the aunt, as she was the sister of Muhammad Shah, father of a Sayyid, 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah.

intelligence of all this, he pretended to apologize very humbly to the Sharqi Sultan and very slyly gave him assurance of a warm reception.[1] But the latter divined the true meaning of Bahlul's words and refused to listen to him. In the meanwhile some of the amirs of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din grew dissatisfied with Bahlul and during his absence in Panjab they came over to Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's court and invited him to proceed to Delhi.[2] Sultan Mahmud, who had already collected a huge army for this purpose and was waiting for such a favourable opportunity, was now further encouraged in his resolve.

In the beginning of 856/1452 Sultan Mahmud Sharqi marched rapidly towards Delhi and besieged the city with 170,000 cavalry and foot soldiers and 1,400 war elephants.[3] Khwaja Bayazid, son of Sultan Bahlul, Bibi Matto, the widow of Sultan Shah Lodi and Bahlul's mother-in-law, with their kinsmen and some of the Afghan nobles shut themselves up in the fort.[4] As the fighting force in the fort was small, Bibi Matto clad some women in men's attire and stationed them on the parapets of the fort to deceive the enemy by a false show of numbers.[5] The Afghans, led by skilled archers such as Shah Sikandar Shirwani, son-in-law

[1] 'Abdullah, p. 13.

[2] Tahir, ff. 607b, is the only authority who mentions this fact, whereas Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Firishta, Bada'uni and 'Abdullah write that he was only sent a written invitation. 'Abdullah is mistaken in writing that at that time Bahlul was in Sirhind whereas Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*, I: 301) writes that he was in the neighbourhood of Multan at that time. *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi*, B.M. MS. Or 164, f. 3a, is also mistaken in asserting that he was invading Multan to place Shaikh Yusuf on the throne on this occasion, because Shaikh Yusuf was deposed in 856/1452. In fact, Bahlul was invading Multan against Shaikh Yusuf Qureshi, who had declared independence in 854/1450. Bahlul had returned from Dipalpur without going to Multan when he heard about the invasion of Mahmud Sharqi.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 301-2. 'Abdullah, p. 13. Firishta, I: 321-22, and II: pp. 598-99. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. Tahir, f. 607b. The latter is mistaken in writing the year of this event as 855/1451. Nizam-u'd-din (*Tabaqat*), Firishta and Mushtaqi are all silent about the number of elephants. Ni'mat Ullah is also mistaken in mentioning the number of elephants as 1,000. 'Abdullah is the only authority who mentions the strength of the cavalry, foot soldiers and elephants.

[4] 'Abdullah, p. 13. Mushtaqi, p. 7. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 64-65.

[5] 'Abdullah, p. 13. Mushtaqi, p. 7. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a.

of Khan Jahan Lodi, started shooting arrows at the Sharqi forces. But as the siege was protracted and no reinforcements arrived, the Afghans could not stand against the Sharqi forces.[1] The Afghans decided to beg for peace and therefore approached Darya Khan Lodi, the governor of Sambhal, who was an ally of the Sharqis. It was decided that the fort along with the whole city should be handed over to the Sharqi Sultan, and the Afghan force should at once vacate the fort.[2] Sayyid Shams-u'd-din, one of the nobles of Delhi, brought the keys to hand over to Darya Khan Lodi, the commander of the Sharqi forces, but asked the latter to listen to his request in private. Sayyid Shams-u'd-din said to him: "The keys of the fort are here, but as a Lodi noble, you should not disrespect and dishonour your own Lodi women who have taken shelter in the fort and who are just like your own mothers and sisters." Darya Khan, a Lodi Afghan, was thus won over to the Lodi side, and returned the keys.[3] Darya Khan Lodi returned to Mahmud Sharqi and told the latter that, although the keys of the fort had been brought to him, they were of no use, because Sultan Bahlul would soon arrive with a huge army. If they could win the war against him, not only the city but also the whole country would be theirs. The credulous Sultan believed him and thus was deceived by the stratagem.[4]

Sultan Bahlul, hearing of the Sharqi invasion, had already set out on a return march. He had also circulated an appeal in the meanwhile to the Afghan Chiefs of India and Roh, emphasizing the Afghan national danger as well as promising them *Jagirs*.[5] He now encamped at Narela, about seventeen miles from Delhi.[6]

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 301. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. 'Abdullah, pp. 13-14. Mushtaqi, p. 7. Nizam-u'd-din (*Tabaqat*) does not mention Shah Sikandar's name.

[2] Mushtaqi, p. 7. 'Abdullah, p. 14. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. 'Abdullah is silent about the name of Darya Khan Sambhali.

[3] Mushtaqi, pp. 7-8. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. 'Abdullah, p. 13.

[4] Mushtaqi, p. 8. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. 'Abdullah, pp. 14-15.

[5] *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shahi*, ff. 2. Roh in a narrow sense means the hill region round the Sulaiman mountains.

[6] Mushtaqi, p. 8. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a. *Tabaqat*, I: 301. 'Abdullah, p. 15. Firishta, I: 321. Ni'mat Ullah incorrectly writes the name of Narela as Zelah and Mushtaqi as Lumbrah.

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi sent thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants under Darya Khan Lodi and Fath Khan Harawi, the commander-in-chief, to oppose Bahlul.[1] Reaching Narela the Sharqi forces also encamped. In the meanwhile one day, as has been mentioned by Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, some of the Sharqi camels and bullocks which were out pasturing, were siezed by the Lodi troops.[2] This compelled the Sharqi forces to attack the enemy. In the battle that followed Qutb Khan Lodi, a distinguished archer, disabled the Sharqi elephant seated upon which Fath Khan Harawi was leading the attack. This forced the latter to withdraw from the battlefield.[3] This, in turn, provided Qutb Khan with a chance to approach Darya Khan Lodi, whom he harangued thus: "Thy mother and sisters are shut up in the fort. Is it fitting that thou shouldst fight on the side of a stranger and shouldst not protect the honour (of thy people)?" This affected Darya Khan Lodi so much that he agreed to leave the battlefield on condition that he should not be pursued.[4] His defection threw the Sharqi army into confusion and they were routed. The chief of the Sharqis, Fath Khan Harawi, became a prisoner. As he had killed Rai Pithora, brother of Rai Karan of Khor, the latter severed his head, which was brought to Bahlul.[5]

Crestfallen, the Sharqi forces now returned to join Sultan Mahmud, who was still engaged in the siege of Delhi.[6] When the besieged on the parapet of the fort saw the confusion of the Sharqi forces, they at once informed Bibi Matto, who ordered

[1] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* 'Abdullah, p. 15. Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit.*, is mistaken in writing thirty-nine elephants. Mushtaqi, p. 8. 'A. Baqi, I: 440. Both the latter are silent about elephants.

[2] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit.*

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* 'Abdullah, *op. cit.* The latter does not mention about the elephant which was leading Fath Khan Harawi's vanguard.

[4] 'Abdullah, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit.*

[5] 'Abdullah, p. 15. Mushtaqi, p. 8. The latter incorrectly writes that Fath Khan Harawi was killed with an arrow. *Tabaqat*, I: 302, writes these details. 'Abdullah is silent about the name of the person who severed the head of Fath Khan Harawi. Firishta, I: 321, writes his exact name, Rai Pithora.

[6] 'Abdullah, *op. cit.*

the drums of conquest to be sounded. Sultan Mahmud, hearing this sound, was much puzzled, and ordered his men to enquire about the truth of the matter.[1] In the meanwhile Mubarak Khan Sambhali had arrived and told Sultan Mahmud of the defeat at Narela.[2] When he heard that Fath Khan had been captured and killed, he was stricken with grief and disappointment, and ordered his forces to return to Jaunpur.

The next important expedition which he led was against Ujjain. The Ujjainis had been under the yoke of the Sharqis since Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar's reign. Ishwari Singh, the eldest son of Sangram Dev, was now ruling there. Ishwari Singh was a pleasure-loving prince. His lack of interest in administration threw his country into confusion. When Sultan Mahmud Sharqi heard of Ishwari Singh's voluptuous orgies and the disorder prevailing in his realm, he sent a strong force in 1454 to conquer Ujjain. Ishwari Singh became alarmed and, being unable to stand against such a force, abandoned his palace and fled to the jungles. Capturing Rewa, his capital, the Sharqi forces continued the pursuit of the fugitive, who was eventually arrested and killed in 1455. Having thus restored peace to that land, Mahmud's army returned to his capital.[3]

Inspite of his success in the previous war with the Sharqis, Bahlul did not forget the valour of the Sharqi army with which they had besieged Delhi. He wanted to get rid of the nightmare of a Sharqi occupation of Delhi. So, to fortify his position, he busied himself properly organizing his dominions and in recovering the lost territories. Within a few years he was able to subdue Ahmad Khan, the governor of Mewat, Darya Khan of Sambhal and Rai Partap, the ruler of Bhongaon. He captured Rapri and from there he advanced upon Etawah and expelled the Sharqi

[1] Mushtaqi, *op. cit.* 'Abdullah, pp. 15-16.

[2] Mushtaqi, pp. 8-9. 'Abdullah, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 301-2. Firishta, II: 598. The latter is the only authority who mentions seven elephants as well.

[3] "*Bihar Through the Ages*," p. 393.

governor (1455).[1] Sultan Mahmud Sharqi had been uncomfortably watching his career of conquest. As the Lodi frontiers advanced menacingly near his own kingdom, he decided to challenge the enemy. The latter, reaching the territory of Etawah, also encamped his forces. After one day's indecisive battle, peace was concluded between the parties through the mediation of Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Partap on the following terms: that Bahlul should return the seven elephants captured in the battle of Narela (856/1452), that both should retain possession of the territories which had belonged respectively to the late Sultans Ibrahim Sharqi and Mubarak Shah (Sayyid) of Delhi, and lastly Shamsabad should be taken away after the rains from Juna Khan, its Sharqi governor, and be transferred to Bahlul.[2]

But the peace did not last long and hostilities between the two rulers broke out afresh in 861/1456-7. After the end of the rainy season Sultan Bahlul sent an order to Juna Khan, the Sharqi governor of Shamsabad,[3] to vacate the place. Juna Khan did not comply with his orders, whereupon Bahlul marched on Shamsabad, forcibly ejected Juna Khan, and handed it over to Rai Karan.[4] The former immediately sent an emissary to the Sharqi court, and begged for help. Sultan Mahmud, being provoked, rapidly marched upon Shamsabad and attacked Bahlul's nominee in that town. Darya Khan Lodi and Qutb Khan Lodi made a night attack upon the Sharqi camp. Unluckily Qutb Khan fell from his horse,[5] was captured by the Sharqis and sent to Jaunpur, where he remained in captivity

[1] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65. *Tabaqat*, I: 302-3. 'A. Baqi, I: 441-42. Firishta, I: 321-22, and II: 598.

[2] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 302-3. 'A. Baqi, I: 441-42.

[3] Shamsabad lies eighteen miles north-west of Farrukhabad in the Farrukhabad District, U.P. (27.32 N and 79.28 E); it was founded by Shams-u'd-din Iletmish.

[4] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 303. 'Abdullah, p. 16. 'A. Baqi, I: 441-42. Firishta, II: 598.

[5] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 303. 'Abdullah, p. 16. 'A. Baqi, I: 441-42. Firishta, II: 598.

for seven months.[1] The loss of Qutb Khan, Bahlul's cousin and brother-in-law, was a source of great distress to him. Rai Karan continued defending the Shamsabad fort, and could offer a stout opposition to the besiegers for some time. Bahlul, finding Rai Karan's position weak, posted prince Jalal Khan and prince Sikandar to render him assistance, while he himself marched upon Sultan Mahmud's camp.[2] During this warfare Sultan Mahmud fell ill suddenly, probably because of some epidemic, and died in 862/1457.[3] At this his son and successor, prince Bhikan Khan, and the Sharqi queen, Bibi Raji, made peace with Bahlul.[4]

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, like his father, was fond of art and architecture, and the beautiful buildings, palaces and magnificent mosques which he built not only in Jaunpur but also in different parts of his empire, testify to his fine taste.[5] Our chroniclers pay him high tribute for his successful reign. They write of him as a noble king of high dignity who achieved much both in the field of religion and of politics. Nur-u'l-Haqq writes that during his reign people were happy and prosperous.[6] Nizam-u'd-Ahmad says that "after his accession Jaunpur had become a garden of hopes for his people who were refreshed with the abundance of the rain of his benefaction. He gave greatness

[1] Our chroniclers write that Qutb Khan remained in Jaunpur prison for seven years. The later history of both the Sharqi and the Lodi Sultans contradicts this. Mahmud Sharqi's successor, Muhammad, ruled only for about five months (*Tabaqat*), III: 284. The latter succeeded to the throne of his father, who had died on the battlefield in 862/1457. Qutb Khan was released on the succession of Husain Shah Sharqi, Muhammad Shah's successor. Qutb Khan's period of captivity comes to seven months only, as described only by Firishta.

[2] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 303. 'Abdullah, p. 16. 'A. Baqi, I: 441-42. Firishta, II: 598.

[3] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65a and b. *Tabaqat*, I: 303. 'Abdullah, p. 16. 'A. Baqi, I: 104. Firishta, II: 598. Tahir, f. 608a, a later authority mentions that he was poisoned by one of his relations.

[4] Firishta, I: 323, and II: 598-99. 'A. Baqi, I: 104.

[5] See details in Chapter VI (on Architecture).

[6] Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 374b.

and grandeur to his kingdom and his people experienced the joys of life abundantly."[1] Firishta remarks that he managed the affairs of his country with great wisdom and authority and set the country on successful lines.[2]

(B) *Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi* (1457-1458)

At Sultan Mahmud's sudden death on the battlefield late in the year 862/1457, his queen, Bibi Raji, with the consent of the Sharqi amirs at once crowned his eldest son, Bhikan Khan, who assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah.[3] As the coins prove, it seems that he had already been nominated as the successor to the throne by his father, who had also allowed him to issue coins on his own behalf in the last two years of his reign.[4] On Sultan Mahmud Shah's death, Sultan Muhammad Shah and queen Bibi Raji found themselves in a weak situation, so they decided to make peace with their enemy. It was decided that Bahlul should continue to hold what was in his possession and Sultan Muhammad should keep all the territories of the late Sultan.[5] Then both returned to their respective capitals.

Sultan Muhammad was a man of tyrannical nature and his subjects did not like him at all. He had a constant dread that his nobles would depose him and raise Hasan Khan, one of his brothers, to the throne. On reaching Jaunpur he imprisoned two of them, namely Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan. He also alienated his nobles by his cruel disposition and irritable temper. As has been stated by Firishta, he put to death many of the nobles, thus

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 278-79.

[2] Firishta, II: 595.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 303. Firishta, II: 599. 'A. Baqi, I: 442. The latter incorrectly writes his name Bhikan as Bhakan.

[4] N. Wright, "*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*," Oxford, 1907, II: 207. S. Lane-Poole, "*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*The Muhammadan States*)," London, 1885, pp. 102-3. Also see Appendix A, "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans."

[5] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit*. 'Abdullah, p. 17, simply mentions that peace was made and does not mention the conditions of the treaty. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65-66.

spreading uncertainty and fear among high and low.[1]

Bahlul had hardly reached the neighbourhood of Delhi, when he received a message from his wife, Shams Khatun, the sister of Qutb Khan, to the effect that as long as Qutb Khan should remain in Sultan Muhammad's prison, rest, repose and sleep should be unlawful for him.[2] Bahlul took these words to heart and proceeded from Dhankur[3] to Jaunpur to attack the Sharqi Sultan. Sultan Muhammad also marched to oppose him. Reaching Shamsabad, the first thing he did was to expel Rai Karan, its governor, and re-appoint his own governor in the person of Juna Khan.[4] Rai Partap, the ruler of Etawah, being attracted by Sultan Muhammad's success, also transferred his allegiance from Delhi to Jaunpur.[5] Marching forward now, he encamped his forces at Sirsuti[6] to oppose and attack his enemy. Bahlul reaching Rapri near Sirsuti, also encamped his army. For some time desultory and inconclusive fighting took place in which Sultan Muhammad found his forces much demoralized.[7] This was due to the discord among his nobles. Sultan Muhammad Shah realized it was necessary to crush first his own rivals at home. From there he sent an order to his *kotwal* at Jaunpur to put

[1] Firishta, II: 599.

[2] Firishta, II: 599. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 65b and 66a. *Tabaqat*, I: 304. 'Abdullah, p. 17. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 14. The latter is incorrect in writing that this message was delivered to him when he was in his apartment in Delhi.

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.*, incorrectly writes Danaur as Dhankur. 'Abdullah, *op. cit.* 'A. Baqi, I: 443, Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a, and Firishta, *op. cit.*, are silent about this place. They write that when he reached the neighbourhood of Delhi, he received the message of his wife and returned to Jaunpur. *Dankaur* is a town in the Sikandarabad tehsil, Bulandshahr district, U.P., thirty-four miles east of Delhi.

[4] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* The latter is silent about the name. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 22, is wrong to call Juna Khan Khuban Khan.

[5] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* 'Abdullah, *op. cit.* The latter is silent about this.

[6] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Sirsuti or Saresti may be the town of Sirsaganj on the banks of the Sirsa river, in Etawah district, U.P. Ibn Battuta (III: 142-3) describes it as a big town on the banks of the Saresti river. It lies twenty-seven miles south of Mainpuri and fourteen miles from Shikohabad. This Sirsa is different from that of East Panjab.

[7] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.*

to death his brothers, Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan Lodi, both of whom were in prison. But the *kotwal* replied that his mother, Queen Bibi Raji, was strictly keeping an eye on the condemned men, so the order could not be carried out. Muhammad Shah, finding his mother an obstacle to his success, persuaded her to join him on the plea that she might arrange a settlement between him and Hasan Khan, giving the latter a part of the kingdom.[1] As soon as she left Jaunpur, prince Hasan Khan was murdered by the *kotwal* in accordance with the order of Muhammad Shah. Bibi Raji had hardly reached Qannauj when she heard the sad news and stopped there to perform the mourning ceremonies for her deceased son. She decided to remain at Qannauj.[2] Muhammad Shah wrote her a brutal taunt that she would save herself trouble by mourning at the same time for other sons who would follow the same fate.[3]

Sultan Muhammad Shah's wrathful and bloodthirsty nature alarmed his amirs, who felt afraid of him. His brothers, prince Husain Khan and prince Jalal Khan, who were also in the camp with him, fearing lest they should share the fate of Hasan, decided to take immediate action. Nizam-u'd-din and Firishta write that they conspired with some of the amirs such as Jalal Khan Ajodhani and Sultan Shah, and spread a false report that Sultan Bahlul intended to make a night attack upon them. Muhammad Shah was induced to leave at their disposal three thousand cavalry and one thousand elephants.[4] This force encamped quite near by on the banks of the Jharna.[5] But as prince Jalal Khan had been left behind, prince Husain Khan sent someone to summon him. Bahlul, knowing their situation, sent an army against them.

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 304.

[2] *Ibid.* Ahmad Yadgar, pp. 14-15.

[3] *Tabaqat, loc. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a. Firishta, I: 323-24.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 305. Firishta, II: 600. Hadi, ff. 608, is incorrect in writing two thousand elephants.

[5] The Jharna is a small tributary of the Jamuna and joins the latter from the north near Shahdara, after passing through the Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts, *U.P. D. Gaz., Agra.*

Prince Husain Khan and Sultan Shah, the Sharqi noble, turned their forces towards Qannauj to be in a safer position. It so happened that the part of the Delhi army which was following them also reached the Jharna where the Sharqis had encamped before. Prince Jalal Khan in compliance with the summons of prince Husain, went towards the same Jharna, where now Lodi forces were stationed. Taking them for their brother Husain's contingent, he went close to them. The Lodi troops, knowing that he would be an exchange for Qutb Khan, kept him in confinement.[1]

Sultan Muhammad Shah, becoming aware of the defection of his brother and feeling that he was too weak to meet Bahlul, also took the road to Qannauj. Sultan Bahlul pursued him and when the latter reached the Ganges, attacked Muhammad Shah, looted a part of his equipage and war material, and returned.[2]

On reaching Qannauj Prince Husain and the Sharqi amirs joined Queen Bibi Raji and told her the whole story. Queen Bibi Raji and the Sharqi chiefs decided to proclaim prince Husain Khan king (862/1457).[3] Now instead of going against Bahlul they decided to deal first with Sultan Muhammad Shah. Malik Mubarak Gung, Malik 'Ali Gujarati and some other chiefs were deputed against him. Muhammad Shah was already encamped on the banks of the river Ganges near the Ford of Rajgir.[4] When Husain's army arrived near Muhammad Shah's, the rest

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 305. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a. Firishta, II: 600. 'Abdullah, pp. 17-18, is completely wrong in calling him prince Jalal Khan, son of Muhammad Shah Sharqi. Neither does 'Abdullah explain the whole situation. Ahmad Yadgar, p. 15, is mistaken in calling prince Jalal Khan a son of Sultan Muhammad.

[2] Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.*

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* 'A. Baqi, I: 444. Tahir, f. 608b. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad and Tahir are completely wrong in mentioning his date of accession as 855/1451. Tahir is mistaken in mentioning that his succession took place at Jaunpur, whereas others mention it at Qannauj.

[4] Rajgir Ford is three miles south-east of Qannauj on the banks of the Kalinadi. A. Fuhrer. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (New Series), p. 83.

of the amirs also left Muhammad Shah and joined the forces of Husain. Sultan Muhammad, finding himself left with only a few horsemen, fled to a nearby garden.[1] Sultan Husain's forces went after him, whereupon Sultan Muhammad, who was a powerful archer, took up his bow and arrows to face his enemies all alone. But Queen Bibi Raji had already bribed Sultan Muhammad's bodyguard to remove the heads of the latter's arrows. When Sultan Muhammad found his arrows without heads, he drew his sword, boldly faced the situation, and slew some of Husain's men. But one arrow shot by Mubarak Gung struck him in the neck and he fell from his horse and died.[2] He was buried at Dalmau.[3]

Sultan Bahlul was still more powerful than the Sharqis. Rai Partap, who on a former occasion had joined the late Sultan Muhammad, now turned to Bahlul as well. Sultan Husain Shah, observing the changed situation, thought it prudent to make peace with his enemy. It was decided that both should return their respective prisoners and both should remain contented with their dominions for four years.[4] After marching from Qannauj, Sultan Husain came near the reservoir known as Harya and encamped

[1] Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a, is mistaken in writing that he was left with one hundred horsemen, whereas other chroniclers agree that he was left with only a few horsemen.

[2] Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a. *Tabaqat*, I: 306. Firishta, II: 600. 'A. Baqi, I: 444. 'Abdullah, p. 18. The latter does not give the name of the amirs. He is further mistaken in writing that the heads of the arrows were taken by some of his enemies, whereas others agree that Queen Bibi Raji had done it through her men. Ahmad Yadgar, pp. 15-16, is also mistaken in writing that Queen Bibi Raji kept Muhammad Shah a prisoner in chains. Sultan Muhammad Shah's coins as well as those of Sultan Husain Shah of the years 861-862 and 863 A.H. exist. It looks as if both were contending for power, as each was issuing coins in his own name. So the definite rule of Muhammad Shah cannot be ascertained. Also see Appendix A, "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans," and Husain Shah's coins dated 861, 862 and 863 A.H. on plate No. XIX.

[3] Muhammad Shah's tomb was built by Husain Shah, his brother. It lies in a garden at Makanpur, a mile from the town of Dalmau in Rai Bareilly, District U.P. A. Fuhrer, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (New Series), p. 320.

[4] Ni'mat Ullah, f. 66a. *Tabaqat*, I: 306. Firishta, II: 601.

there. From there he sent for Qutb Khan from Jaunpur, honoured him with a robe of honour and a horse and other favours, and sent him to Bahlul with all due honours. In the same way Sultan Bahlul sent prince Jalal to Jaunpur. Then both the Sultans returned to their respective capitals.[1]

Sultan Muhammad Shah was a cruel, bloodthirsty man of tyrannical nature, who ruled ingloriously for about five months in which may atrocious deeds were committed which shook the future stability of the empire.[2]

[1] Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit. Tabaqat*, I: 306-7. Firishta, *op. cit.* The latter is wrong in writing Harya as Harha.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 284. Firishta, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER V

The Decline of the Sultanate

Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi—1458-1505

Sultan Husain Shah after concluding a peace treaty with Bahlul Lodi, (862/1458) reached Jaunpur, which had seen much anarchy and turmoil during the short reign of the last monarch. Sultan Husain Shah took measures to restore law and order in the city.[1] As stated by Firishta, the first thing he did was to make inquiries into the murder of his brother, prince Hasan. The amirs who had taken part in it were apprehended and severely punished.[2]

Sultan Husain had inherited a vast kingdom, the boundaries of which stretched from the foothills of the Himalayas to the borders of Malwa, Bundel Khand and Baghel Khand on one side, and from the frontiers of Bengal almost up to the gates of Delhi

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 283. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, II: 207. Also see Appendix A, "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans." Tahir, f. 608b, is incorrect in giving his date of accession as 855/1451.

[2] Firishta, II: 601.

on the other. But even these extensive territories did not satisfy the boundless ambition of Sultan Husain and he determined to enlarge it. He increased his army, trained it and equipped it with all the necessary requirements, and advanced upon Orissa. Most of our chroniclers such as Bada'uni, 'Abdullah and Tahir altogether omit this first major event of his reign, and those who do mention it, namely Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Firishta, Hadi, Nur-u'l-Haqq and Hasan, have recorded neither the date nor the reason of Husain's invasion of that country.[1] Since the time of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi the rulers of Orissa had been Sharqi feudatories. But taking advantage of the anarchy at Jaunpur, they had stopped the payments of the usual tribute. On his way Sultan Husain first plundered and devastated the country of Tirhut, and, levying tribute from the refractory people of the place, triumphantly marched upon Orissa.[2] Entering the territory, he sent detachments to various parts of the country, looted the rich lands, and harassed the people. The Rai Kapileshwar Deva (1435-67), the ruler of Orissa, could not stand against the Sharqi power.[3] He was much humiliated by the invader and in great distress submitted to him. Kapileshwar Deva, through his agent, prayed for the pardon of his faults and begged for peace. The Sultan granted his prayer. The Raja presented him with thirty elephants and one hundred horses, along with many other valuable gifts. Sultan Husain now returned to his country with great pomp and glory.

His successful invasion of Orissa, a first experience, was very promising to him, and encouraged him in his plans of expansion. He now decided to advance westward. But before setting out, he strengthened the defenses of Jaunpur by repairing various fort-

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 284. Firishta, II: 601. Hadi, f. 97b. Nur-u'l-Haqq, ff. 375. Hasan, f. 418b.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 284. Firishta, II: 601.

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Hasan, f. 418b. R. C. Majumdar, p. 191, mistakenly says that the presents were given to him by the Rai of Tirhut and not by the Rai of Orissa. The historians of Orissa are silent about this campaign, and it is difficult to judge what happened.

resses in different parts of his dominions. In the year 870/1465[1] the much dilapidated fort of Banaras was repaired and rebuilt. He stationed there a strong garrison under a capable governor.

The next year (871/1466) he sent a strong force under his commander-in-chief to Gwalior where Raja Man Singh was still maintaining his independence against both Jaunpur and Delhi.[2] The Sharqi forces besieged the city. Raja Man Singh shut himself up in the fort. But when the siege was protracted he agreed to submit. He paid a large indemnity and accepted the status of a vassal.[3]

Sultan Husain had now earned a great reputation by his conquests. He had consolidated his position on both his western and eastern frontiers. The tributes he gained from Orissa and Gwalior materially strengthened his position. Being thus fortified he now decided to challenge his formidable enemy, Bahlul of Delhi. During these years Bahlul had expelled the Sharqi governor, Juna Khan, from Shamsabad, and had handed the city over to Rai Karan.[4] This displeased Sultan Husain and he planned to attack the Lodi territory. The four year truce had long expired. In 1468 Bahlul, leaving Qutb Khan Lodi and Khan Jahan as his deputies in the capital, went to Multan to put down the disturbances in that part of the country.[5] This was an opportunity for Husain. He took with him a well equipped army and marched upon Delhi (1468). On his way some amirs of Bahlul such as Ahmad Khan Mewati and Rustam Khan,

[1] *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Tahir, f. 691a. Firishta, II: 601-2 is wrong in mentioning the date of its repair as 871/1466-67, because this, *i.e.*, 871/1466-67, is agreed upon by most of our chroniclers as the year of his attack upon Gwalior.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 284. Firishta, II: 602. Tahir, f. 691a. Hasan, f. 419b. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 375b. Tahir is the only authority who mentions that he sent his Commander-in-chief for this task.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 284. Firishta, II: 602. Hasan, f. 419a. Nur-u'l-Haqq, f. 375b. Tahir, f. 691a. The latter also mentions that Raja Man Singh promised to send him a few elephants every year and a fair amount of money not clearly specified.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 307. 'A. Baqi, I: 445-46. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 50a.

[5] Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 50.

governor of Koil, attracted by his power, also joined him.[1] Bahlul learned of this turn of events while still on his way to Multan. He quickly retraced his steps to Delhi to meet the invasion. The two Sultans met at Chandwar[2] (1469) and a violent battle took place, lasting a week and costing many lives on both sides. At last by the exertions of leaders on both sides, a truce was concluded to the effect that for three years both the Sultans should be content with their previous boundaries.[3] Sultan Husain retired to Jaunpur and Bahlul to Delhi.

Yet Sultan Husain was hardly the person to remain content with this decision. His ambitious gaze was fixed on Delhi, and soon he started to strengthen his position again. As has been stated by Mushtaqi, he called for his Rais and Zamindars to provide him with forces and other equipment for his project against Bahlul.[4] He was able to collect a great number of horses and elephants. He also organized a *Top Khana* (artillery).[5] Further to strengthen his position he also won over some other allies, such as Ahmad Khan Jalwani, son of Yusuf Khan Jalwani, governor of Bayana, who joined him and recited the *Khutbah* in his name.[6] This alarmed Bahlul, who as a counter-move invaded Mewat in order to suppress Ahmad Khan Mewati, a Sharqi ally. Yet in spite of all his efforts he could not win. But the latter was pursuaded by Khan Jahan, one of the great nobles of Husain, to join his master's side.[7] When all his plans were completed he called for his chief noble, Malik Shams, for further counsel. The wise noble said,

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 306-307. Firishta, I: 723. Tahir, f. 212 a.

[2] Chandwar lies three miles west of Firuzabad on the left bank of the Jamuna in the present Agra District, U.P. (27.7 N and 78.23 E). It is an ancient village and its ruins, strewn for miles, attest to its greatness in the past. At this time Bahlul had gone to Multan to help Shaikh Yusuf, the dispossessed ruler of Multan. The latter's son, 'Abdullah, was married to one of the daughters of Bahlul. 'Abdullah's son born of Bahlul's daughter was Rukn-u'd-din and he became Shaikh-u'l-Islam under Sikandar Lodi.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 307. Firishta, I: 324. Tahir, f. 212a.

[4] Mushtaqi, p. 11.

[5] Tahir, f. 212a.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 307. Bada'uni, I: 308.

"Although we have now a great number of soldiers at our disposal, yet I feel we should not hurry in this matter."

He further suggested to Husain that in that year they should encamp their forces along the border from where detachments could be sent to plunder and devastate the enemy's territories, so as to compel the people of the territory to join their side, thus strengthening their chances of success. The following year they would march upon Bahlul. Bibi Khunza, the chief queen of Husain, who had been listening to the conversation from behind the curtain, said to her husband that those amirs and chiefs were showing cowardice and were reluctant to go to the battlefield.[1] She insisted on her husband's marching upon Delhi at once in order to seize the former throne of her father ('Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah 1445-51). Sultan Husain ignored the advice of his chief counsellor, and although the three year period of the last truce was not yet over, he advanced upon Delhi in the early part of 1469 with one hundred and forty thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants.[2]

Sultan Bahlul, hearing this intelligence, was alarmed. Finding himself unable to face the powerful Sharqi army, he hastily sent a mission under prince Muhammad Farmuli and Kapur Chand

[1] Mushtaqi, p. 11. *C.H.I.*, III: 255, incorrectly writes Bibi Khunza's name as Jalila.

[2] Most of our chroniclers differ on the number of elephants and horses. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, II: 285. Nur-u'l-Haqq, ff. 375. Firishta, II: 602, and Hasan, ff. 419, agree on this number. Muhammad Kabir, the author of *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 15-18, states that Husain took with him one lakh horses and five hundred elephants. *Jaunpur Nama* mentions one lakh horsemen and one thousand elephants. Bada'uni, I: 308, says one lakh horsemen and one thousand elephants. Tahir states that Sultan Husain took with him fifteen thousand horsemen. I have taken the mean number of both horses and elephants. Muhammad Kabir, the author of *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, gives a very interesting and imaginative account of Husain's expedition against Bahlul. According to him, Husain's queen persuaded him to acquire her father's (Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah's) throne for her brothers from Bahlul. Husain took with him one lakh cavalry and five hundred elephants, marched upon Delhi and, after defeating Bahlul, ruled there for nine years. Then his queen again reminded him that he had conquered Delhi for her brothers and not for himself. After leaving his brothers-in-law in Delhi, he returned to Jaunpur. But no sooner had he left than his brothers-in-law were again expelled by Bahlul.

with rich presents to Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, requesting the latter for help against Sultan Husain. The Khalji potentate was willing to render help, but expected a price for it. Bahlul soon after sent another deputation, including Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Kirat Singh, to place before Mahmud the following facts:

> Sultan Husain Sharqi does not keep his hand from me. If His Majesty the Sultan comes to the neighbourhood of Delhi to help and reinforce me, and delivers me from the worries created by Husain, I will make over the fortress of Bayana with its dependencies as a tribute at the time of Husain's return, and whenever the Sultan may advance in that direction I will send six thousand horsemen with the necessary equipment to wait on and accompany him."

Sultan Mahmud Khalji replied:

> "Whenever Sultan Husain may advance towards Delhi I will with great rapidity join him and support him."

Upon the conclusion of this agreement, Sultan Mahmud Khalji conferred robes of honour on the ambassadors and bade them farewell. But Khalji Sultan could not act upon this, as he died a month later on May 3, 1469.[1]

Sultan Husain's army in the meanwhile had made triumphant progress, seizing a large part of the Delhi territory and conquering towns such as Koil and Bulandshahr. Reaching the vicinity of Delhi, he encamped on the bank of the Jamuna.[2] Bahlul was greatly distressed and went to the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki where he remained all night standing bare-

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 248-49. Firishta, II: 502. Hasan, ff. 419. All three historians mention only one mission. R. C. Majumdar, p. 192, however, states that contemporary records of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa mention two successive missions, one on February 21, 1469, and the other on April 3, 1469.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 285. Mushtaqi, ff. 10-11. 'Abdullah, p. 19, (he copies Mushtaqi). He further states that while Bahlul was at his prayers in the morning a person appeared before him and gave him a wooden stick to hold in his hand and told him that he might drive away his enemy with it.

headed, praying.[1] Despairing of success, he made a humble and piteous appeal to Husain, saying that he agreed to cede the whole of his territory, retaining for himself only the city of Delhi and the tract of the country lying thirty-six miles around it, which he would govern as a Sharqi vassal.[2] Sultan Husain's pride and haughtiness would not let him listen to these proposals. Sultan Bahlul, who had himself regretted the offer as soon as he had made it, now decided to test his luck on the battlefield. He advanced from Delhi with not more than eighteen hundred horsemen and encamped in front of Sultan Husain's camp on the opposite bank of the Jamuna. As the river lay between the two armies neither of them was eager to risk a battle. In contempt of his opponent Sultan Husain neglected military precautions. He used to disperse his army for the purpose of plundering, denuding his own camp of troops.[3] Bahlul, observing this situation, ordered his forces to cross the Jamuna at mid-day. This news was taken to Husain, but in his pride and haughtiness he would not believe it. In the meanwhile his camp was suddenly attacked.[4] As there was no force to oppose Bahlul's army, Husain had to flee, leaving behind not only his camp but also his chief queen, *Malika-i-Jahan* Bibi Khunza, together with other inmates of the harem, who all fell into enemy hands. His chief counsellor, Malik Shams, was killed. Bahlul shortly afterwards sent back the queen with all respect and honour, and also the head of Malik Shams to Husain[5] (1470).

In spite of this catastrophe Sultan Husain did not lose heart. His pride was again stimulated by his chief queen, Bibi Khunza,

[1] *Tabaqat*, III: 285. Firishta, II: 602. 'A. Baqi, I: 105-6.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 285. Firishta, II: 602. 'A. Baqi, I: 105-6.

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Both contradict each other. Firishta says that the chiefs of the army of Husain had gone plundering, whereas Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*, III: 285) states that Husain's forces had gone plundering. Firishta seems to be wrong.

[4] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Hasan, ff. 41. 'A. Baqi, I: 106.

[5] Mushtaqi, p. 12. *Tabaqat*, III: 286. Hasan ff. 420. Firishta, II: 602. Mushtaqi is the only authority to mention Malik Shams being killed and his head being sent to Husain later on.

and in the following year (1471) he again marched upon Delhi with one lakh cavalry and a thousand elephants.[1] Sultan Bahlul came out to oppose him. When only a short space was left between the two advancing armies, Bahlul sent an emissary to Husain with the following message:

> "Would the Sultan be pleased to pardon my offences and leave me in my present condition, for I shall one day be of use to him?"[2]

Sultan Husain paid no attention to this. Both took up battle positions at Bhatwara. After a protracted contest peace was arranged through the mediation of Khan Jahan Lodi. Bahlul[3] returned to Delhi and Husain went to Etawah.

After an interval of about two years in 1473 Husain, who was bent, upon conquering Delhi, violated his agreement and again marched against Bahlul. The latter also advanced from Delhi to oppose him. The antagonists met at Sikhera,[4] twenty-five miles from Delhi.[5] The battle raged for several days, but Husain's luck did not favour him. The rainy season hampered his plans and eventually fighting was terminated by an agreement. Bahlul returned to Delhi and Husain came back to Etawah.[6]

At this critical juncture Husain had to face further sorrow and grief. While he was at Etawah his mother, Malika Bibi Raji, died.[7] Her death was a great loss, for she had been a sagacious lady to whom he had often turned for advice. He was now left alone with no sincere well-wisher to counsel him.

[1] *Tabaqat*, II: 308. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 50b. 'A. Baqi, I: 476. Ni'mat Ullah writes that he took with him eleven hundred elephants.

[2] *Tabaqat*, III: 286. Firishta, II: 602.

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, f. 63a. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 50b and 51a. Hasan, f. 420a 'A. Baqi incorrectly writes Bhatwara as Nehwara. Firishta and Hasan are mistaken in stating that Husain was defeated in this battle. Ni'mat Ullah confuses this battle with the previous incident. Bhatwara is a village in the Bulandshahr tehsil and district, U.P. Vide *U.P. D. Gaz.*

[4] Sikhera, a village in Bulandshahr district, U.P. Vide *U.P. D. Gaz.*

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 308. Firishta, I: 324. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 50b and 51a.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 308. Firishta, II: 603. Bada'uni, f. 63a.

[7] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, f. 51a. Firishta, I: 324.

Our chroniclers such as Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Firishta and Ni'mat Ullah write that Qutb Khan, the wily Afghan, who was at that time at Chandwar, went to Gwalior, and, taking along with him Raja Kalyan Mal, went to Sultan Husain under the pretext of mourning the late Malika Bibi Raji.[1] Qutb Khan on this occasion finding Sultan Husain inimical towards Sultan Bahlul began to flatter him, and said:

> "Bahlul is one of your servants. How can he claim equality with you? I shall not rest till I bring Delhi into your possession."

He then took leave of Sultan Husain and, going back to Sultan Bahlul, said:

> "I have freed myself from the clutches of Husain by deception and plotting. I found him to be very strong in his hostility to you. You should look after yourself."[2]

At this time (883/1478) Husain's father-in-law, Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah, the fugitive king, who was still holding his petty court at Bada'un, died. Husain went to Bada'un to join in the mourning for him. After the mourning ceremonies were over he seized Bada'un by ejecting his brothers-in-law.[3] He now went from there to Sambhal (in the modern Muradabad District, U.P.) and imprisoning its ruler, Mubarak Khan, son of Tatar Khan, occupied it.[4] Sultan Husain was now at the head of a huge army including one thousand elephants. Finding Bahlul away in Sirhind, he turned his face towards Delhi and encamped on the banks of the Jamuna near the ford of Kachh[5] (Zulhijja 883/

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 308. Firishta, II: 603. Bada'uni, f. 63a.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 309. Firishta, I: 324-25. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 51a.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 309. Firishta, I: 324-25. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 51a. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64.

[4] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, p. 16. Bada'uni is mistaken in stating Tatar Khan's name instead of Mubarak Khan's.

[5] Kachh (Bada'uni calls it *Kicha*, Firishta *Kacheha* and 'A. Baqi *Jusa* I: 447) lies in Sambhal Sarkar. See Jarrett, *A'in*, II: 290. A. Halim, pp. 38-39, confuses this battle with the battle of 1470. He is mistaken in mentioning that Bahlul begged help from Mahmud Khalji on this occasion. The latter had already died in 1469. Bahlul begged help from Mahmud Khalji when

February-March,[1] 1478). Bahlul learning this news quickly returned to Delhi. He now took up his army, crossed the Jamuna and attacked the Sharqis. In the battle that followed, the Sharqis, being numerically superior, gained the upper hand. Final victory went to Sultan Husain, and Bahlul and his officers were reduced to a desperate plight. Our chroniclers write that at this critical juncture Qutb Khan Lodi's hypocrisy enabled him to save his kinsmen. He sent a message to Husain, begging peace and saying that he had been a slave of his mother, Bibi Raji, who had done him many favours when he had been in prison at Jaunpur. Thus invoking the memory of Bibi Raji and appealing to filial affection, Qutb Khan was able to induce the invader to leave Delhi unmolested. Husain agreed to conclude peace, on the understanding that the territory to the east of the Ganges belonged to him and that of the west to Bahlul.[2] After this arrangement Husain one night arranged a colourful party of music and dancing of which Muhammad Kabir gives a scintillating description.[3] Qutb Khan, who was the guest of honour at it, highly praised the party, and, flattering Husain, said how much more enjoyable it would be if it was arranged on the banks of the river. Husain, who was a man of poetic and romantic nature as well, readily agreed, and ordered the party to be shifted according to Qutb Khn'as suggestion. The Sharqi Sultan was once again in the trap of Bahlul's spying cousin and, while the party was in full swing, Bahlul fell upon Husain's camp.[4] He captured his baggage,

Husain attacked him in 1469-70. Secondly A. Halim is also mistaken in writing that queen Bibi Khunza threatened her husband that she would herself lead an army, if Husain failed to do so. This also happened at the battle of 1469-70. A Halim is further mistaken in writing that Husain encamped near the ford of Kachh on the banks of the Ganges. This ford, in fact, lies near the banks of the Jamuna. A. Halim is also mistaken in mentioning Bahlul's praying all night at the shrine of Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki. This also happened at the previous attack of Husain.

[1] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit*. Firishta, I: 385. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 51b. Bada'uni, *op. cit*. 'A. Baqi, I: 447.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 309. Firishta, I: 325. 'A. Baqi, I: 447-48. 'Abdullah, p. 19. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 16-17. Bada'uni, I: 309. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 51b.

[3] *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 20.

[4] *Ibid*.

stores and camp equipment, as well as a large number of elephants and horses laden with spoil and treasure. Forty of Husain's army officers, constituting the flower of the Sharqi nobility, such as Qazi Sama-u'd-din, wazir, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and Budha, deputy paymaster of the army, and many others like him were taken prisoner. Qazi Sama-u'd-din, also known as Qutlugh Khan, was put in chains in the charge of Qutb Khan Lodi, and Bahlul went in pursuit of Sultan Husain, but the latter escaped on foot. His chief queen, *Malika-i-Jahan* Bibi Khunza, was also taken prisoner, but Bahlul deputed eunuchs to serve her, and sent her back shortly afterwards to Sultan Husain with due honour.[1] Bahlul's success turned the tide in his favour, and he was now able to take possession of a number of parganas such as Kampil, Patiali, Koil, Shamsabad, Mahrara and Jalali, belonging to his rival.[2] He posted strong garrisons to these places and he himself continued his pursuit of Husain. Sultan Husain's pride compelled him to turn back and in the early part of 884/1479 he gave his Lodi opponent battle at a village called Ram Mahjur in the jurisdiction of the Rapri pargana, and was able, it seems, to put up a bold show.[3] Eventually peace was concluded on condition that both the monarchs should remain content with the old boundaries.[4] Then each of them returned to their respective territories, but Bahlul stayed at Dhopamau and Husain at Rapri.[5]

Sultan Husain, however, could not long remain quiet after this

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 309. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 51-52. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64. Firishta, I: 325. 'Abdullah, p. 19. Hasan, f. 420a. Hasan mentions only the queen and her inmates being taken prisoners, and is silent about the rest. 'Abdullah incorrectly writes Qutlugh Khan's name as Qalij Khan.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Firishta, I: 325, omits Koil and for Jalali writes Jalesar. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64, and Ni'mat Ullah are silent about the names of these places. The latter simply states that Bahlul went after him up to Shamsabad and took possession of Husain's parganas.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 52b. Firishta, I: 325-26. Ni'mat Ullah is silent about the name of the place where actually the battle took place. Firishta incorrectly writes the name of this place Ram Pinjhrah.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 52b.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 310.

defeat. He again collected a huge force to renew war in order to retrieve his honour. Malika-i-Jahan, who had been restored to him, further incited him to retrieve his honour and that of his chiefs. Bahlul's treachery had deeply angered him. So, with all the odds against him and despite the advice of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Ghani, Husain embarked upon the perilous venture in the following year (885/1480-81). The Lodi and the Sharqi armies met at Sonhar,[1] but Husain's luck again failed him and he suffered the worst defeat of his career so far.[2] Bahlul plundered his camp, and military equipment and an invaluable quantity of wealth also fell into his hands. Husain was again forced to fall back to Rapri, and Bahlul encamped at Dhopamau.[3]

Bahlul was a little upset at that time because of the death of his capable wazir, Khan Jahan Lodi, but as he had greatly increased his power and resources at the cost of his opponent, Husain, he was determined to destroy Husain completely. Despite the fact that Husain was overwhelmed by his misfortunes he came forward to oppose his formidable enemy. A severe battle took place near Sirsa in which Husain was defeated and forced to take flight (1482). In the course of flight while he was crossing the Jamuna some of his sons and members of his family were swept away, causing him boundless distress and grief.[4] In great agony and torment he decided to go to his vassal, the Raja of Gwalior, to get help. While he was on his way in the neighbourhood of Hatkant[5] a band of Bhaduryas[6] further attacked and

[1] Sonhar is the chief village of the pargana of the same name in Etah district, U.P. It lies ten miles north-east of Sakit. Etah District Gaz., p. 161.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Firishta, I: 325-26. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64. 'Abdullah, p. 19.

[3] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Bada'uni, ff. 63-64.

[4] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, II: 326. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 52a. Sirsa lies near Rapri where Sultan Husain had encamped his forces. D. G. Jaunpur, p. 161.

[5] Hatkant is now an insignificant village on the banks of the Chambal in the district of tehsil Agra, U.P.

[6] The Bhaduryas' stronghold was Hatkant. As Abul Fazl mentioned, they were known as daring robbers and though near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant.

plundered his camp.[1] He reached Gawalior, where his old vassal Raja Kirat Singh, received him with all honour and esteem, as he still retained confidence in his cause. The Raja offered him a tribute of several lakhs of tankas in cash and also provided him with horses, elephants, camels and a contingent of troops, and personally accompanied him as far as Raigaon near Kalpi.[2] On the other hand Bahlul started for Etawah in order to reduce it. Husain's brother, Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Etawah, and his officers, Haibat Khan Gurgandaz and Malik Kakar, fortified themselves and fought for three days. Eventually they sued for peace and surrendered the fort (1482). Bahlul conferred this place upon Ibrahim, son of Mubarak Khan Nuhani, and gave some of its parganas to Rai Dandu as his reward.[3] Bahlul now proceeded in person to attack Husain who had been already busy preparing for the inevitable conflict and was encamped at Raigaon on the Ganges. When Bahlul arrived near the village of Raigaon, Sultan Husain also advanced to meet him. He still had a strong force and Bahlul found little comfort from the skirmishes which continued for several months from the opposite banks of the Ganges (886-87/1481-82). But the situation changed completely with the treachery of Raja Tilok Chand, governor of Baksar[4] on behalf of Sultan Husain, who guided Bahlul to a ford in order to cross the river.[5] Husain was outmanoeuvered, and retreated to the territory of Bhata[6] (Rewa).

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 52b. Bada'uni, does not mention this incident.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 311. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64. Both mention that Raja Kirat Singh came to see him off up to Rapri, whereas Raigaon is mentioned in *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 161. Bada'uni incorrectly mentions the name of Raja Kirat Singh as Rai Singh. Raigaon is now an insignificant village in Bilhaur tehsil, Kanpur District, U.P.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 310. Firishta, I: 326. 'Abdullah, p. 20. 'A. Baqi, I: 449. Bada'uni does not mention this incident. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad and 'A. Baqi are mistaken in calling Rai Dandu Rai Dand, and so is Firishta, who calls him Dandwah.

[4] Baksar lies thirty-four miles S. E. of Unao town. *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 45.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 311. Firishta, II: 316. 'Abdullah, p. 20.

[6] Bhata. This place now corresponds to the former state of Rewa in Baghel Khand with Bandugarh as its capital. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64, incorrectly writes Bhata as Patna and 'Abdullah as Panna.

Raja Bhed (Bhechandra) of Bhata welcomed him, presented several lakhs of tankas as well as a hundred horses and elephants, and escorted him at the head of his army to Jaunpur.[1]

Sultan Husain again collected a large force and went to seek spiritual help from the great saint, Mian Budi, for the next campaign, but the saint gave him bad omens.[2] Bahlul still pursued him. When the former reached the vicinity of Jaunpur, Husain, finding his position weak, abandoned the capital and by way of Bahraich retired to Qannauj. Bahlul followed him by the same route. Husain, who was being driven from pillar to post now, decided at last to give him battle on the banks of the Ab-i-Siyah[3] (886-7/1481-82). The bitterly fought battle went against Husain. He suffered heavy losses and even his regalia and paraphernalia of empire fell into enemy hands. His queen, Bibi Khunza, was once again taken prisoner. She managed by some stratagem to obtain her release, and returned to her husband.[4] Bahlul, flushed with success, directed his attention towards subjugating the Jaunpur territories, and brought most of them under his control (888/1483). He now once again advanced upon Jaunpur which easily fell into his hands (888/1483-84).[5] Bahlul put Mubarak Khan Nuhani, in charge of Jaunpur, but left an outpost in the township of Majhauli[6] with Qutb Khan Lodi, son of Khan Jahan Lodi, and other nobles, and proceeded to Bada'un.[7] Husain made one more desperate bid to recover his lost dominions. He marched in full force to Jaunpur, upon which the

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 311. 'Abdullah, p. 20.

[2] *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 17-18.

[3] Ab-i-Siyah (Kali Nadi), joins the Ganges ten miles above Qannauj.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 53a. Firishta, I: 326-27. Bada'uni, ff. 63-64. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 27. The latter is wrong in stating that Bahlul sent back the Sharqi queen with great honour and respect.

[5] The conquest of Jaunpur may be assigned to 888/1483-84, the year in which Bahlul issued coins from Jaunpur, *J.A.S.B.*, 1922. *Numismatic Supplement* No. XXXVI, Plate 17.

[6] Majhauli is a village in the Gorakhpur district, U.P. It is situated on the left bank of the Gandak. *Imp. Gaz.* IX, p. 213.

[7] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 53a.

Lodi governor, Mubarak Khan, and other Lodi officers fell back from Jaunpur to Majhauli.[1] Finding their position weak, they started overtures and continued temporising with Husain until Qutb Khan Lodi, son of Khan Jahan Lodi, arrived with reinforcements.[2] Bahlul further sent his son, Barbak Shah, to their assistance and also followed the latter in person.[3] When he reached the town of Haldi, he heard of the death of his wazir, Qutb Khan Lodi, who was also his cousin as well as his brother-in-law.[4] From Delhi Bahlul once more marched on Jaunpur. Sultan Husain being unable to oppose him retreated to Bihar.[5] Bahlul followed Husain along the river Gandak as far as Haldi in the Ballia district, but could not overtake him. Finally Sultan Husain was permitted by Bahlul to hold as his family estate a small tract around Chunar which yielded him five lakhs of tankas annually.[6] Bahlul placed his son, Barbak Shah, on the Sharqi throne and allowed him to issue coins. He himself marched on Kalpi,[7] which he presently annexed and assigned to A'zam Humayun (son of prince Bayazid, son of Bahlul).[8] Then he advanced upon Dholpur, where the Raja, a Sharqi vassal, welcomed and escorted him and presented him with a few *mans* (maunds) of gold.[9] From Dholpur the Sultan proceeded to Bari,[10] where the governor,

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 53a.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 312.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 312.

[4] Haldi is situated on the right bank of the Ganges in the district of Ballia, U.P. *Imp. Gaz*. Vol. XIII, p. 10.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 312.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, II: 603. Firishta writes five Karor, which seems to be wrong. Chunar lies on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mirzapur District and is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name.

[7] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Kalpi (268 N and 79.4 S.E.) lies on the ravines of the Jamuna twenty-two miles from the town of Jalaun in the present Jalaun District (U.P.) *Imp. Gaz*. Vol. XXV, p. 175. The old Kalpi *pargana*, however, included many *parganas* of the present Kanpur District, U.P.

[8] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, I: 327. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 53b. Bada'uni, ff. 64.

[9] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, I: 327. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 53b and 54a.

[10] Bari lies nineteen miles west of Dholpur Railway Station and forty-five miles S.W. of Agra. It is the headquarters of the district of the same name in the state of Dholpur.

Iqbal Khan, also submitted, and presented him with a few maunds of gold.[1] Next Bahlul attacked and destroyed the city of Alhanpur[2] in Ranthambhor,[3] which was part of the kingdom of Malwa (889/1484), but afterwards Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Khalji was compelled to purchase peace by sending presents and gifts. Perhaps he also paid reparation for damages.[4] Bahlul then returned to Delhi.

While Bahlul was busy in occupying the aforesaid territories, Husain, taking advantage of his absence, fell upon Barbak Shah, who could not withstand him and was compelled to surrender the city. The news reached Bahlul when he was on his way to the capital. He collected a large force and turned back to reinstate Barbak Shah. Husain sent his nephew, Jalal Khan, with a body of 30,000 efficient cavalry to oppose Bahlul near Kalpi, and also followed Jalal Khan in person. When Bahlul reached Kalpi he found that the way to Jaunpur was blocked by the enemy. Despite opposition he was able to ford a crossing of the Ganges. Bahlul now divided his forces into two divisions. One division, composed of 15,000 horses, was placed under the command of Ahmad Khan and Qutb Khan with orders to effect an ambuscade. The other division, composed of 5,000 horses, was placed under the command of Daulat Khan to face the Sharqi forces. The second division was to retreat in an orderly way on Sultan Husain's launching the offensive, and thus decoy him to the spot where the other 15,000 horsemen lay in ambush. In this way Sultan Husain's forces were to be wedged in between. The assailants were to close the roads from both sides and launch a determined attack upon the Sharqis. As a result the latter were massacred in large numbers and their thirty elephants and many horses and a fair amount of booty fell into the hands of

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 312.

[2] The City of Alhanpur was the headquarters of the pargana of the same name in Ranthambhor, Sarkar, Jarrett, A'in, II: 274.

[3] The town of Ranthambhor lies in the present state of Jaipur in Rajputana.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, I: 327. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 53-54.

the Lodis. Husain, being helpless, again fled to Bihar. Bahlul went to Jaunpur to reinstate Barbak Shah and then returned to Delhi.[1]

In 894/1488 Bahlul again attacked Gawalior, where Raja Man Singh submitted to him and presented him with a sum of eighty lakhs of tankas.[2] From there he went to subdue Etawah. Afterwards, while he was on his way to Delhi, he fell ill from excessive heat and died near the village of Mila'uli in the jurisdiction of the Sakit *Pargana*[3] (12 July, 1489).

At the time of Sultan Bahlul's death his son and heir, prince Nizam Khan, was in Delhi. He at once proceeded to Jalali and sent his father's corpse to Delhi. Then with the consent of Khan-i-Khanan Shaikh Saeed Farmuli and all his father's amirs, he ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah. His coronation took place on 17th Sha'ban, 894/16 July, 1489, on a spot known as Sultan Firuz Shah's hunting pavilion situated on the bank of the Kali Nadi near Jalali.[4] His accession was not accepted by his brother, 'Alam Khan, while many other amirs such as 'Isa Khan and Tatar Khan Lodi were in favour of Barbak Shah, on account of the greater purity of his blood.[5] This was an alarming situation for Sikandar, who at once demanded their homage. He sent Isma'il Khan Nuhani the Barbak Shah to settle the affair, but the latter declared his independence and rose against him.[6] Sultan Husain Sharqi also induced him to

[1] Ahmed Yadgar, ff. 18.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, I: 327. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 54a. Bada'uni, ff. 64.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 312. Firishta, I: 328. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 54a. 'Abdullah, pp. 20-21. Nizam-u'd-din (*Tabaqat*) mentions the place of his death as Tilawali; Ni'mat Ullah as Malawali; Firishta as Bhada'uli; 'Abdullah as Jalali and Bada'uni simply mentions that he died in the neighbourhood of Sakitpur. Actually this place, a village, Mila'uli, is clearly written in the MS. of *Makhzan-i-Afghani* and also in the MS. of *Tabaqat*. Also see A. Halim, pp. 49-50.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 314. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 54b.

[5] There was considerable opposition to the succession of Sultan Sikandar, owing to his mother having been a goldsmith's daughter: but Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli espoused his cause. *Tabaqat*, I: 315-16. Firishta, I: 371.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 314. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 55a. 'Abdullah, p. 45. *Mir'at-i-'Alam*, ff. 246.

advance on Delhi and seize his father's kingdom for himself. With this intention Barbak Shah advanced from Jaunpur to Delhi. Sikandar Lodi suppressed the prince's partisans in Delhi and then advanced to attack Barbak Shah near Qannauj. Barbak Shah being deserted by his ally, Rai Ganesh, was defeated and fled to Bada'un. Sikandar pursued and captured him. Barbak Shah now made his submission with great humility.[1] Knowing that Husain was still planning and conspiring with the local chieftains for the recovery of his throne, Sikandar again put Barbak in charge of Jaunpur. But at the same time he assigned some of the *parganas* of Jaunpur to his favourite amirs, whom he appointed to keep a watch on the ambitious Barbak, in order to impose upon him some sort of check.[2] Sultan Husain was still hopeful, as many zamindars of Jaunpur and chieftains of his former dominions were still loyal to him. Whenever Sikandar was busy in other parts of his kingdom, Husain tried to create disaffection among the zamindars and Rajput chieftains of the territory, and influence them in his favour. By 1489-90 he was able to gather considerable strength. He now fomented large-scale insurrections throughout the Jaunpur country. Juga, a Bachgoti[3] Rajput, finally rose in his cause, and collecting a force of two hundred thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen thousand horsemen, fell upon Sher Khan, the governor of Kara, killed him and occupied the place.[4] He now advanced upon Mubarak Khan Nuhani, brother of Sher Khan, who also fled, but Juga captured him while he was crossing the river, and he was imprisoned by Rai Bhed, the ruler of Bhata.[5] Juga, after thus defeating

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 316. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 55. Firishta, I: 331. 'Abdullah, p. 45. Firishta incorrectly calls Rai Kans, *i.e.*, Ganesh, Rai Kilan.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 316. 'Abdullah, p. 45. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 55b.

[3] The Bachgotis are a tribe of Mainpuri Chauhans, living on the borders of the Jaunpur and Gorakhpur districts, and notorious for their turbulence. See Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of the North West Provinces*, I: 47.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 56b. Firishta, I: 332. Ni'mat Ullah does not mention the name of Juga as leader of the force. Firishta does not mention the Bachgotis.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 56b. 'Abdullah, f. 46. Firishta, I: 332. 'A. Baqi, I: 455. Firishta incorrectly mentions the name of Rai Bhed as Shehdev Raja. 'A. Baqi is also mistaken in mentioning him as Rai Bathind.

the neighbouring Lodi amirs, finally advanced upon Barbak. The latter being unable to stand against him vacated Jaunpur and fled to Muhammad Khan Farmuli, known as Kala Pahar, at Darya-abad[1] (in the modern Bara Banki district). Sultan Sikandar now marched with a large force towards Jaunpur.[2] When he reached the town of Dalmau, he was received by Barbak and those amirs who had been ousted from their respective Jagirs by the Bachgoti chief Juga[3] (1491). Taking them along, he proceeded towards the enemy. Hearing of his advance, Rai Bhed released Mubarak Khan Nuhani and the latter also joined Sikandar.[4] Then Sikandar marched towards Katgarh,[5] where he was opposed by a huge assembled force of zamindars still loyal to the cause of the Sharqi Sultan. A hotly contested engagement took place in which the zamindars were defeated and an enormous booty fell into Lodi hands. Thus Sikandar was able to reach Jaunpur, where he once again installed his brother, Barbak.[6]

Sikandar Lodi next decided to quell the Rajput rebels' chief, Juga. The latter still commanded fifteen thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot-soldiers, a formidable force, which could be a positive source of disturbance to the rest of the country.[7] Sikandar proceeded in search of the chief Juga to the banks of the Gumti, but all attempts to trace him proved unavailing. At last some gardeners led Sikandar to the hide-out of Juga.[8] Juga, hearing the news that his enemy had the advantage over him, became so frightened that, according to Mushtaqi, he even left his shoes behind and fled to Sultan Husain, who was already

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 56b.

[2] Ni'mat Ullah, f. 56b. 'Abdullah, p. 46. Mushtaqi, ff. 20.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 56b.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Firishta, I: 332. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 56-57.

[5] Katgarh is now a small village in the Dalmau Pargana, Rai Bareilly district. *U.P. D. Gaz.* p. 137.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 317. Firishta, I: 332. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57a.

[7] Mushtaqi, p. 20.

[8] 'Abdullah, p. 46 is mistaken in writing the name of the river Gumti as Koi.

awaiting him in the fort of Jaund (Chaund).[1] Sultan Sikandar went in pursuit, but, hearing the news that the Sharqi Sultan was in the fort, stopped his march and encamped his forces in the vicinity. From there he sent a message to Sultan Husain to the following effect:

> "My main purpose for coming over to this place is to punish Juga, who has committed great sins. Either he should be arrested and sent to me, or you may give him proper punishment on my behalf."[2]

Mushtaqi and 'Abdullah say that Sultan Husain Sharqi sent back a reply through one of his great nobles, Mir Sayyid Khan, to this effect:

> "Juga is my servant; and your father was a soldier with whom I measured swords. You are merely a silly child to me and if you talk nonsense I will beat you with shoes rather than with a sword."[3]

Sultan Sikandar told Mir Sayyid Khan to go back and convince Husain that he did not want to shed the blood of the Muslims in vain just to punish the Kafir. It was better that Husain should hand Juga over to him or himself undertake to chastise him. Mir Sayyid Khan, pleading his helplessness in this matter, returned to Husain.[4]

Sultan Sikandar now held a council of war which favoured an attack on the enemy.[5] 'Abdullah writes that Sikandar disposed his forces so that in the centre were Lodis and Shahu Khails, on the right and left were Farmulis and Nuhanis, and in the rear were Shirwanis. 'Umar Khan Shirwani was leading the

[1] Mushtaqi, p. 20. Jaund or Chaund lies near Bhabua in the Shahabad district, (North) Bihar. *Journal Bihar Research Society*, XLI, 1955, part II, p. 360.

[2] 'Abdullah, p. 47. Mushtaqi, ff. 21.

[3] 'Abdullah, pp. 46-47. Mushtaqi, ff. 20. The latter does not mention the name of the messenger.

[4] 'Abdullah, pp. 20-21. Mushtaqi, ff. 20-21.

[5] 'Abdullah, pp. 47-48. Mushtaqi, ff. 22.

vanguard. Sultan Sikandar himself took position on an elephant.[1] In this manner the Lodi force advanced upon the fort of Jaund, where the Sharqis were stationed. Sultan Husain led his forces out of the fort to oppose the enemy. The armies met at Katgarh and fought a contested action[2] (1492). Husain was defeated and he fled to Bihar.[3] A good part of his force and many officers including the emissary, Mir Sayyid Khan, fell into the hands of the Lodis.[4] When Sultan Sikandar saw Mir Sayyid Khan coming on foot as well as bare-headed, he gave orders at once to provide him with a horse and a turban.[5] Other Sharqi prisoners were also shown due consideration.[6] Sikandar then went to Jaunpur, and leaving Barbak Shah there, returned to Delhi.[7]

The zamindars and local Rajput chiefs, who repeatedly favoured their Sharqi lord against the Lodis, once again conspired to expel Barbak Shah from Jaunpur. There was, of course, no lack of encouragement from Sultan Husain. No sooner had Sikandar left Jaunpur than they again rose against Barbak. The latter could not maintain his position against their formidable opposition and soon rebellion broke out throughout the country. Barbak Shah could not quell it and was ousted from Jaunpur. Sultan Sikandar had hardly reached Katghar when he heard Barbak had proved incapable of maintaining his position in Jaunpur and had been expelled by the zamindars and local Rajput chiefs.[8] He sent Muhammad Khan Farmuli (Kala Pahar), A'zam Humayun, Khan Jahan and Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani by way of Awadh and Mubarak Khan by way of Kara to arrest Barbak.[9] They seized him and in compliance with the order

[1] 'Abdullah, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Tabaqat*, I: 317-18. Firishta, I: 332. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57a.
[9] *Tabaqat*, I: 317-18. Firishta, I: 332. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57a. *Mir'at-u'l-'Alam*, ff. 246. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*) is mistaken in writing that Mubarak Khan was sent *via* Agra instead of Kara.

brought him before Sikandar, who placed him finally in the custody of Haibat Khan Shirwani and 'Umar Khan, virtually as a state prisoner.[1]

Sultan Husain was still holding the territory on the southern side of the Ganges, including Chunar, Cherand and Bihar. Sinkandar understanding that Husain's intrigues with and influence upon the local chiefs were the main reason for the instability of Lodi power at Jaunpur, determined to expel the former from his remaining kingdom. The first objective was Chunar,[2] which was the great centre of anti-Lodi activities. Mubarak Khan was assigned to bring about its subjugation. Khwaja, the Sharqi governor of the fort of Chunar, informed Husain of the Lodi move. At this Husain sent to his aid another rajput chieftain with a large well-trained force. The rival forces fought west of Chunar (1493). The Lodis were badly defeated and Mubarak Khan, severely wounded, was captured and made prisoner of Raja Bhed.[3] This reverse shocked Sikandar who now decided to attack the fort personally. The Sharqi chiefs who were in occupation of the place shut themselves up inside the fort, and the Lodi Sultan failed to make any inpression on the noble fortress.[4] Instead of prolonging the strife here, Sikandar turned his forces towards the country of Bhata to punish Raja Bhed, (1494) who had imprisoned his noble, Mubarak Khan. The Raja, being alarmed, released Mubarak Khan and fled to join Sultan Husain.[5] Sultan Sikandar, instead of pursuing Raja Bhed, went to Arail[6] and Prayag and destroyed the cultivation and orchards of that country. He now returned to Kara and Dalmau. After this he went to Shamsabad and stayed there for six months. He finally return-

[1] *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 396.

[2] Chunar lies on the right bank of the Ganges and is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in the Mirzapur Dirtrict, U.P.

[3] *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 25-26.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 318. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57a. 'A. Baqi, I: 456. Firishta, I: 332.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 318.

[6] Arail, an ancient village, lies opposite the Allahabad fort on the right bank of the Jamuna at its confluence with the Ganges.

ed to the capital and during the march he destroyed the villages from Dalmau to Koil, which had been the haunt of the dissatisfied elements, and put most of these to the sword.[1]

In 1494 Sultan Sikandar again proceeded towards Bihar to attack Raja Bhed of Bhata, the strong ally of Husain.[2] On the way he laid waste the villages which were still favouring the cause of the Sharqi Sultan. When he reached Kahal Pass, Nar Singh Deo, the son of Raja Bhed, came forward to oppose him.[3] Bhed was defeated and fled to Bhata. Sultan Sikandar pursued him in order to attack Bhata, upon which Raja Bhed also fled towards the village of Sarguja.[4] Nar Singh, however, died on the way.[5]

Sikandar now returned towards Phaphund (Phaphamau),[6] one of the dependencies of Bhata. Here koknar, salt and oil became extremely dear, and Sikandar suffered very heavy losses for want of provisions as well as owing to the bad roads.[7] His cavalry was decimated by famine and disease. Nizam-u'd-din

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 318. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57b. At Dalmau Sikandar Lodi married the widow of Sher Khan Nuhani, a most beautiful and accomplished woman of the time.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19. Firishta, I: 323-33. Bada'uni, ff. 65. Firishta is mistaken in writing his name Rai Balbandra. *Tabaqat*, is also mistaken in calling him Raja of Patna. Bada'uni does not mention his name and also incorrectly mentions his territory as that of Patna.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 318-19. Firishta, I: 332-33. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 57b. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad gives the name of the place as Kharan Gati, and Ni'mat Ullah as Kamangati. This place is known nowadays as the Kahal Pass. Secondly, Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat*, I: 318-19) and Firishta (I: 332-33), both state that the name of the son of Raja Bhed was Nar Singh, whereas Ni'mat Ullah (f. 57b) calls him Bir Singh, but according to the Sanskrit chroniclers his name was Vahararaya Deva. See, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 170. Perhaps he is the same person as the one who founded the city of Bhir Singhpur in the State of Panna.

[4] *Tabaqat*, III: 318-19, calls this place Sarkanjah; Firishta, I: 332-33, Sakach, and Ni'mat Ullah (f. 57b) Sarguja.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19. Firishta, I: 332-33.

[6] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19, mentions that Sikandar's army marched from Sarguja to Saund, which seems to be improbable. Saund is situated far away beyond the pass, and Sikandar had nothing to gain by pursuing him in an unknown country. Phaphund (Phaphamau) is a small village quite nearby, which is situated twenty miles north of Bandugarh.

[7] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19. Firishta, I: 332-33. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58b.

Ahmad writes that ninety per cent of the horses were lost.[1] This was a golden opportunity for Husain and his allies, the Rajput chieftains, to demolish their formidable enemy. Rai Lakshmi Chand, son of Rai Bhed, and all the zamindars informed the Sharqi Sultan that Sikandar was short of provisions and horses, and it was a great opportunity for Husain to recover his ancestral dominions. Sultan Husain, having assembled his forces and one hundred elephants, left Bihar in order to attack Sikandar.[2] On the way the Rajput chieftains, his allies, also joined him. Learning of Husain's growing power, Sikandar, to strengthen his position by winning some of the Rajput chiefs over, posted Khan-i-Khanan to Salivahan, brother of Raja Bhed. The former won him over with promises of great favours.[3] Sultan Sikandar now hastily crossed the Ganges by the Kantit ford, and came *via* Chunar to Banaras, towards which place Husain was also moving. Both the armies met thirty-six miles away from Banaras, and a fierce battle took place (1494). Husain was defeated disastrously and fled towards the country of Bhata.[4] Sikandar pursued him for nine days, but when he heard that Husain had retreated to Bihar, he came back, and rejoined the camp.[5] Sultan Sikandar was still afraid of Husain, so he resumed his pursuit. Learning of this, Husain left Malik Kandu in the citadel of Bihar and retired to Colgong,[6] a dependency of Lakhnauti

[1] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 318-19. 'Abdullah, p. 53. Bada'uni, ff. 65. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58a. 'A. Baqi, I: 457. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 18-19 is silent about elephants, and also incorrectly states that Husain attacked Sikandar with the help of the army of the Bengali ruler. Firishta incorrectly mentions that Sikandar instead of Lakshmi Chand invited Husain.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 319. 'Abdullah, p. 53. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58a. Firishta, I: 333. Bada'uni, ff. 65. Persian chroniclers are mistaken in mentioning Salivahan as brother of Raja Bhed. He was a son of the latter. See *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 171.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 319. Firishta, I: 313. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58a.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 319. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58a.

[6] Colgong, *i.e.*, the town of Kahalgaon in Persian histories, is a station on the E.I. Railway, 245 miles from Calcutta. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges, about twenty-three miles east of the town of Bhagalpur in the Bhagalpur district, Bihar.

(Bengal).[1] Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Husain Shah (1493-1518), the king of Lakhnauti, whose daughter was married to Sultan Husain Sharqi's son, Jalal Khan, received him with great pomp and ceremony. He provided him with every comfort, allotted him the Pargana of Colgong for his livelihood, privileged him even to coin money and also promised him help in his future plans.[2]

Sultan Sikandar, now encamped at Deobar,[3] deputed a force against Malik Kandu, who could not withstand it and fled. The citadel fell into the hands of Sikandar's officers and thus Bihar was also finally annexed to the Lodi Empire (901/1495).[4] Leaving there Mubarak Khan Nuhani with some nobles for the future security of the place, Sikandar returned to Darweshpur.[5] He now planned to start a campaign against 'Ala-u'd-din Husain Shah, king of Bengal, who had given shelter to Husain Sharqi. But before setting out on this campaign, he decided to suppress the neighbouring chieftains who had always been a great source of help to the Sharqi Sultan. For a few months he remained busy with this task. He also reduced to submission the Raja of Tirhut, who was made to pay several lakhs of tankas as a tribute.[6] He appointed Mubarak Khan to collect the tribute, while he himself returned to Darweshpur to join the army head-quarters. From this place Sikandar went to visit the tomb of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri, perhaps on the occasion of the annual festival ('Urs) held at Bihar on the 5th Shawwal

[1] Bada'uni, ff. 65. Hadi, f. 98b. 'Abdullah, ff. 53; is silent about Malik Kandu. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 29b, writes that on this occasion some of the sufis and scholars, such as Shaikh 'Abdullah, left Husain and returned to Jaunpur.

[2] *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 29b. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (*Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 19-20) and Firishta are both wrong in saying that Husain Shah Bengali had no male issue. He, in fact, left eighteen sons who survived him.

[3] Deobar is perhaps Dewar, a village in the extreme N.E. of the Champaran District, Bihar.

[4] *Tabaqat*, I: 320. 'A. Baqi, I: 459. Firishta, I: 333-34.

[5] Darweshpur is situated near Maner in the Sherpur Tehsil, Patna district.

[6] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, *op. cit.*

each year.[1] He then returned to Darweshpur, where he received the news of the death of Khan Jahan, his wazir, on the 16th of Shawwal 901/29th June, 1496.[2] Sikandar dubbed his son A'zam Humayun.

From Darweshpur Sikandar marched against Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din of Bengal, who had sheltered Husain. Reaching Tughluqpur[3] near the Bengal frontier, he encamped his forces to make all the necessary arrangements for the invasion. 'Ala-u'd-din Husain Shah fully realized the threat to his security from the establishment of the strong aggressive Lodi power across the frontier in Bengal. Instead of waiting at the capital for his invader he sent a strong force under his son Daniyal to meet him.[4] Sultan Sikandar deputed Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani to oppose him. The armies confronted each other (1496) at Barh,[5] but no engagement took place, and finally negotiations for peace were opened.[6] It was settled that the two monarchs would not trespass on or interfere with each other's kingdoms, nor give shelter to their enemies.[7] After the settlement Sikandar put A'zam Humayun in command of Darweshpur and Darya Khan Nuhani in command of Bihar, while he himself returned to Jaunpur.[8] There he stayed for six months and employed himself in destroying all the traces of Sharqi rule, razing to the ground the great palaces of the Sharqi kings, their gardens, and everything

[1] Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din Maneri was a celebrated saint of the Chishtiya Order and a forceful writer of Persian, Hindi and Purbi. Bihar, headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in the Patna district, is a very ancient town. *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. VII, p. 17.

[2] *Tabaqat*, I: 320. Firishta, I: 333-34.

[3] *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Tughluqpur, named after Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq, I, lies in Tirhut.

[4] *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Firishta, *op. cit*; is mistaken in writing Tughluqpur as Qutluqpur.

[5] The town of Barh in the Patna District, Bihar, on the E.I. Railway, 229 miles from Calcutta, is a very ancient town. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15-17.

[6] *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Firishta, I: 334. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 58b.

[7] *Tabaqat, op. cit.*

[8] *Tabaqat*, I: 320.

connected with their name. The mosques were only saved by the protestation of the 'Ulama of Jaunpur[1] (903/1497).

Sultan Husain was still determined to make a last desperate effort to regain his lost kingdom. At that time Jamal Khan Sarang Khani (the first patron of Sher Shah Suri in Jaunpur) and Darya Khan had established their position in Bihar.[2] Sultan Husain was unwilling to defer action and thus allow the Lodis time further to consolidate their position. He asked Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Husain Shah (Bengal) for help, but the latter advised him to wait for some years more.[3] Ambitious Husain, neglecting the wise and sincere counsel of the ruler of Bengal, decided to march with his own men. With rapid marches, he reached Bihar and besieged the fort[4] (1500). Darya Khan, the Lodi governor of the place, could not withstand him, and shut himself up in the fort. In the meantime he had sent an emissary to Sultan Sikandar, and the latter ordered all the neighbouring Lodi nobles, including A'zam Humayun, to send forces to Darya Khan's aid. Sultan Husain Sharqi was determined to destroy the fort, and pressed the siege. In spite of the fact that the Lodis had put up a strong opposition with gunpowder and were also using arrows, Husain did not lose heart, and continued the siege.[5] The moat of the fort was very deep and it seemed to be difficult to clear of water. Sultan Husain ordered his Baildars to drain it as soon as possible, and the latter were able to finish this task in one night.[6] Their achievement was, however, more than

[1] *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.* Ni'mat Ullah, f. 59a. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 19-20. *D.G. Jaunpur*, p. 164. Both Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad and Ni'mat Ullah mention his six months stay at Jaunpur, but they do not mention anything about his destruction of the city. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (*Jaunpur Nama*) and H. R. Nevill (*D. G. Jaunpur*) mention that some of the buildings were destroyed by Juga during his invasion of Jaunpur, and the rest of the buildings were destroyed by Sikandar during his six months' stay there. According to Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, Sikandar lived there for about six months in 903/1497. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad is wrong in mentioning this date as 905/1500.

[2] Mushtaqi, f. 80.

[3] *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 32b.

[4] Mushtaqi, p. 80. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 32b and 33a.

[5] Mushtaqi, p. 80. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 32-33.

[6] *Ibid.*, f. 32b.

offset by the arrival of a reinforcement comprising 9,000 horses to assist Darya Khan.[1] The Sharqi Sultan found his position untenable, and very disappointed he retired to his last refuge of Colgong.[2]

This was the last attempt on Sultan Husain's part to regain his lost kingdom. He lived for many more years, passing the rest of his life in obscurity. He died in 911/1505, a fact which has been proved by his coins.[3] In accordance with his wish he was buried at Jaunpur.[4]

Sultan Husain Sharqi was a talented king, who has left ever-lasting memories in the field of art and architecture. In spite of the fact that he spent most of his life warring against the Lodis, and could spare hardly any time for rest and repose, he nevertheless adorned his capital, Jaunpur, with beautiful buildings and mosques such as Jami'-u'l-Sharq (also known as Masjid-i-Kalan), which still stand to this day with his name engraved on them.[5] He also built a huge 'Id Gah, which still stands, though in a bad condition.[6] Sultan Husain was also a learned scholar and was very fond of the company of the 'Ulama and Sufis of Jaunpur. He had a great regard for scholars such as Maulana Safi Jaunpuri, Shaikh Jahangir Suhrawardi and Makhdum Baha-u'd-din Chishti. He awarded the last named one hundred tankas for his two scholarly books, *Sharh-i-Hidaya* and *Sharh-i-Baizawi*. He had a monastery built for Makhdum Baha-u'd-din Chishti. He was a pupil of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and often attended his lectures.[7]

Husain was a fine painter and his name holds an important

[1] Mushtaqi, p. 80. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 32b.
[2] Mushtaqi, p. 86. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 20-21.
[3] Whittel's records show that Husain's coins continuously run until 911 A. H. See *Numismatic Supplement* (36) to *JASB*, 1922 N. 35. Also see Appendix A, "The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans."
[4] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 20-21.
[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 20-21. Ghulam Hasan, f. 17b. A. Fuhrer, p. 52.
[6] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 82-83. Ghulam Hasan, f. 17b.
[7] *Tazkirah*, p. 198. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

position among the renowned painters of Hindustan.[1] The authors of *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa* and *Nishat Ara* write that Sultan Husain Sharqi, who bore the pseudonym Gaandharva, was the greatest inventive genius after Amir Khusrau of Delhi.[2] His reputation spread all over India as a highly accomplished musician. He invented not only twelve *Syams,* such as *Malhar Syam* and *Basant Syam,* but also fourteen *Todis,* such as *Asawari Todi,* also known as *Husaini* or *Jaunpuri Todi,* and *Jaunpuri Basant.*[3]

Husain's character was contradictory and disappointing. Although he was a man of ideas and had many opportunities to use his resources, yet he not only failed to realize his political ambitions but in the event also brought ruin on himself and his dynasty through his carelessness and follies. His courageous fighting, however, against heavy odds does deserve admiration. He was a brave and chivalrous warrior, but was at a disadvantage in his struggle against the wily Bahlul, his sworn enemy, as he was so credulous that he could easily be decieved by the Afghan's empty promises. He lacked statesmanship and his rash conduct in initiating a war against the Lodis taxed his military as well as financial resources and ended in an unmixed disaster for his kingdom. He thought too highly of his own strength and resources, and utterly failed to measure those of his enemy. He was mostly dominated first by his mother, Queen Bibi Raji, and after her death by his chief queen, Bibi Khunza, whose passion for vengeance was an important factor in his persistent aggression against Delhi and its tragic consequences. Had Bahlul been succeeded by a less able son than Sikandar there might have been some chances for Husain to retain the remaining territory of Bihar. He had lost his trained military in the early wars with Bahlul, and in the later part of his reign he raised untrained contingents which lacked discipline and order and the will to win the war.

[1] Moti Chandra, p. 38.

[2] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. I, No. I. Dacca, May 1957, pp. 59-60.

[3] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, ff. 267-70. For details also see Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VI

Sharqi Architecture

Introduction

Though the unsettled conditions of the Sharqi Dynasty did not allow it to live long, its rulers, who were great patrons of art and architecture, in spite of their incessant military activity on almost all frontiers of their kingdom, did find time to develop their architectural interest. Their numerous buildings display original and distinctive features, and have been highly praised by eminent critics. The Sharqi architecture as compared with that of other contemporary dynasties, is markedly Muslim. It is also unique in many ways. Two things continued to make Sharqi architecture pre-eminent. One was the assiduous patronage of the Sharqi rulers, and the other the deep artistic traditions of the local inhabitants. The Sharqis employed local artisans, who were Jain and Hindu, and who grafted their own rich traditions upon the Muslim ones. After the fall of the Tughluqs and the invasion of Timur at Delhi, the building operations came to a standstill. Delhi artisans were invited to take service in the rising provincial

centres, especially Jaunpur, where the patronage of the rulers, as has already been said, also attracted and encouraged them. "The Kings of the East" built many magnificent mosques, forts, palaces, madrasas, shrines and tombs in different parts of their kingdom. They rebuilt and founded new cities, and adorned them with beautiful buildings of all kinds. In comparison, the architecture of the Delhi kingdom during the same period is represented only by the tombs of Mubarak Sayyid (1421-34) at Delhi, and by those of 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah (1445-78) and his family at Bada'un.

When Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar came to Jaunpur, the city had only a few buildings erected decades before by the orders of Sultan Firuz, *i.e.*, the founder of Jaunpur. Even the fort, including its mosque, was not complete. Sultan-ush-Sharq had no proper residence even for himself. To provide himself with an official residence, he added some buildings to the Jaunpur Fort. He also repaired and re-designed the old palace of Vijaya Chandra and re-named it *Badi' Manzal* (The Wonderful House).[1] And when his hands were free from the suppression of local rebellions, he turned to the construction of the city, which was further enlarged, remodelled and re-named as *Dar-u'l-Surur* (The Abode of Bliss).[2] To improve the conditions of the agricultural class, he dug canals in various parts of his country.[3]

The reign of his adopted son, Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi, was mostly spent in wars against Delhi, and thus, architecturally, he could not do much except to make some additions to the development of the capital city. But his successor, Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, was the greatest patron of art and culture of his period. His bounty attracted scholars, saints, artists and artisans, not only from the different parts of the sub-continent, but also from foreign lands. He further enlarged the capital city of Jaunpur and adorned

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[3] *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 23.

it with splendid mosques, madrasas, palaces, libraries, bazars, tombs and shrines. He also built and repaired forts at important towns. He also dug *ba'olis* (vast circular wells) and other wells, and made bridges and laid gardens for the welfare of his subjects.[1]

His successor, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, was equally cultured. Though much of his time was taken up in waging wars against the neighbouring Hindu princes and chiefs, he built many mosques, some of which are still in existence at Jaunpur as well as in other parts of his kingdom.[2] His Queen, Bibi Raji, a princess of the ruling Sayyid family of Delhi was, like her husband, very cultured and religious-minded. While her husband spent most of his time in holy wars, she not only administered the whole country in his absence, but also took an interest in many cultural and architectural activities. She built mosques, madrasas, palaces and bridges for the welfare of her subjects.[3]

The short reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's successor, Muhammad Sharqi, was mostly spent in war with Bahlul Lodi. He was killed in the struggle for the throne near Dalmau, where his tomb still stands.[4] His successor, Sultan Husain Sharqi, was a liberal-minded prince and, like his father, Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, had a rich taste in architecture. Despite his life-long wars with the Lodis, Sultan Husain Sharqi found time to create some memorable works. He constructed many mosques, madrasas, shrines and tombs in Jaunpur as well as in other parts of his Empire. He also repaired and rebuilt forts and fortresses throughout his kingdom for the security of his kingdom.[5] He also founded new cities and rebuilt old ones re-naming them after himself.

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 32. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 60-64 and 76.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 41. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 51-52. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 40-41, and 65-66.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52.

[4] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320. His tomb was built by Husain Sharqi. It still stands in a garden of the village of Makanpur near Dalmau in the district of Rai Bareilly.

[5] The fort of Banaras was repaired in 1465. *Tabaqat*, III: 284.

Among all the new and old cities, which the Sharqi Sultans founded and rebuilt, Zafarabad and Jaunpur are pre-eminent. In the following pages the story of the two cities and their main buildings as well as other monuments of the Sharqis in different parts of their kingdom is told.

SECTION I

The Tale of Two Cities

During the reign of the Sharqi Sultans there were two important cities, *i.e.*, Zafarabad and Jaunpur, where most of the architectural and cultural activities took place. Zafarabad being the fore-runner of the other, needs to be mentioned first.

(A) *Zafarabad*

Zafarabad is older than Jaunpur, but during the Sharqi reign it was of secondary importance and was better known for its religious and literary activities than for its architectural attainments. It lies on the right bank of the Gumti at a distance of about four miles from Jaunpur.[1] It had been a flourishing city of that part of the country before the founding of Jaunpur. In ancient days this region had been a great centre of culture and religion of the Buddhists as well as the Hindus. Ruins of their ancient stupas and temples can still be seen here. It is the same area where the mythical Raja Ram Chandra once ruled, whose capital, Ajodhya, lies in ruins not far from the modern district of Faizabad.[2] Afterwards the Pala princes of Banaras ruled over this territory.[3] The last Hindu rulers here were of the Gahadavala clan, whose last ruler, Jaya Chandra II, was finally overthrown by Shihab-u'd-din Ghori in 1193.[4] The walls of the old fort

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 185.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 2.

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 147.

[4] M. Nazim, pp. 108-9. M. Habib, p. 39. A. B. M. Habib Ullah, pp. 59-65. This area of the Ganges doab was also conquered by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi. He defeated Chandra Pal Bhur the Raja of Asai, *i.e.*, Asni (the name of the old fort of Zafarabad/Manaichgarh) in 1018.

of Jaya Chandra still stand, and enclose a space of eight acres to the west of the town.[1] Its ancient name is said to have been Manaichgarh, and its fort was known as Asni.[2] From the conquest of Shihab-u'd-din Ghori till the time of Sultan Firuz this area had been permanently under Muslim influence and had also served as a route between Delhi and Lakhnauti. Many Muslim sufis such as Shaikh Barah and later on Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind* and Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind* settled here.[3] Afterwards a good number of disciples of both the latter also settled here and worked for the establishment of Islam.

Zafar Khan was appointed the first Muslim governor of this place in 721/1321. He is said to have given it the name of *Shahr-i-Anwar, i.e.,* the city of holy lights, but that appellation could never replace its popular name, Zafarabad.[4] *Shahr-i-Anwar* is a chronogram giving the hijra year 762 (1360-61), the date of the refoundation of the city.[5] During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, 'Ain-u'l-Mulk Multani was governor of Zafarabad and Awadh.[6] In 1376 Zafarabad and Jaunpur were allotted to another prince, Nasir Khan, also known as Malik Bahruz Sultani, who afterwards died and was buried in Jaunpur,[7] *i.e.,* the new city, whose foundations had already been laid down in the previous years, 760/1358-59.[8] The place of Zafarabad had now been taken by Jaunpur, but it still remained the second city of the Sharqi Kingdom. It had become a seat of Islamic learning and Muslim mysticism for the previous half a century, *i.e.,* since the arrival of Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind* and Makhdum

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 64. *D. G. Jaunpur*, pp. 146-147. One small village two miles north of the present city of Zafarabad still retains the same name, *i.e.*, Manaichgarh.

[2] The fort of Asni was also called Asai. It lies ten miles north-east of Fathpur on the river Ganges. M. Nazim, p. 109. M. Habib, p. 39.

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 147. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 7-15.

[4] *Ibid.*, A. Fuhrer, I: 64.

[5] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 153.

[6] Elliot and Dowson, IV: 13.

[7] *D. G. Jaunpur*, pp. 245-46.

[8] Barani, pp. 148-49. A. Fuhrer, I: 4.

Asad-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind*. Even afterwards many saints and scholars from other parts of the country settled here.[1] Because of the residence of many saints and sufis, this city was also known as *Piran Shahr*.[2] People also used to call it Kaghaz Ka Shahr, as it had been a well-known centre of the paper industry.[3] Zafarabad is now a very small town.

(B) *Jaunpur*

Very little is known of the ancient history of the old site of Jaunpur beyond the fact that in ancient times a city occupied the site of the present town. Brahmans derive the name Jaunpur from Jamadagani and assert that the place was originally called Jamadaganipura, after this saint's name, for which they further find support in the *sthana* of the said saint at Jamaitha, a place situated between Jaunpur and Zafarabad.[4] The common people even to-day call it by the name of Javanpura and that argument has been supported by Mr. Ommaney's reading of an inscription found in Bundel Khand on the river Gumti.[5] General Cunningham's error in reading Ajodhyapura as Yaminyampura in an inscription found in the wall of the Lal Darwazah Mosque of Jaunpur also led many to think in the same terms.[6]

Sultan Firuz Shah visited this country a second time in 1359, when he marched against Sultan Sikandar, son of Haji Ilyas of Bengal.[7] When Sultan Firuz reached Zafarabad he was compelled to stop here for about six months, owing to the rainy season.[8] During his stay he one day found at a little distance

[1] For details, see Chapters VII and VIII.

[2] *D. G. India*, XXVIII, p. 331.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 145. A. Fuhrer, I: 2.

[5] *Ibid.* Mr. Ommaney wrongly identified Yavanpura on the river Gumti.

[6] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 145. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, This inscription is of an old temple, the material of which had been used in the erection of this mosque.

[7] 'Afif, pp. 148-49. R. C. Majumdar, p. 186. Riaz-u'l-Islam, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, Part I, January, 1955, p. 38.

[8] Riaz-u'l-Islam, *J.A.S.P.*, *op. cit.*

to the west of the other bank of the Gumti opposite Zafarabad a few thriving buildings built by a dispossessed Rajput prince of the Gaharwar clan of Ratgarh. Sultan Firuz was so attracted by the scene and the flat country that he decided to build there a new town. His orders were carried out soon, and thus the foundations of the new city, which he named after himself, were laid down (1359).[1] It is said that one night he dreamed of his cousin, Malik Juna Khan, *i.e.*, Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq, with the result that he decided to name the city after him as Junapur, which later on came to be called Jaunpur.[2] Within a few years this city developed into an important provincial capital of the Tughluq Empire.

The first two governors of Zafarabad and Jaunpur under Firuz were Zafar Khan and Nasir Khan, also known as Malik Bahruz Sultani (who succeeded in 1376) as has been mentioned before. Sultan Firuz's death on 20th September, 1388, plunged the whole country into turmoil. The province of Zafarabad and Jaunpur was also raided by rebels. On this occasion Sultan Mahmud appointed Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar governor of this province (May, 1394), who for the first time made Jaunpur the governing seat instead of Zafarabad.[3] When Sultan-ush-Sharq arrived he found there only a very small number of buildings, for construction work had been suspended, owing to political confusion at the centre. He did not have even an official residence and he used the old dilapidated palace of Vijaya Chandra.[4] The fort was still incomplete. He completed the building of the fort first of all and made it his administrative headquarters. He also took an interest in the development of the city, remodelled it and entitled it as *Dar-u'l-Surur* (The Abode of Bliss).[5] His

[1] 'Afif, pp. 148-49. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (Jaunpur Nama, pp. 7-8) contradicts his own account, writing in one place the date of its foundation as 760/1358-59, and in the other 772/1370.

[2] 'Afif, pp. 148-49. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 146. S. Lane-Poole, p. 168.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*

successors continued his work, with the result that this city rapidly progressed and became the most important city of the Sharqi kingdom. Apart from its political importance, it also became the centre of cultural activities. The benevolent patronage of the Sharqis attracted here many scholars, saints and *sufis,* artists and literary men from different parts of India as well as from Middle Eastern countries. They enriched this city with their activities, with the result that it flourished even after the end of the Sharqi power and carried on its traditions for centuries.

Jaunpur had at one time sixty-seven Muhallas of which many still survive such as 'Isapur, Begum Ganj, Madar Muhalla, Karar Kot and the Atala Mosque.[1] When Sikandar Lodi captured Jaunpur, he destroyed the Sharqi forts, palaces, domes of their tombs and many other buildings. Even certain sections of the mosques with Sharqi inscriptions suffered the same fate. Sikandar Lodi, in fact, intended to destroy the Sharqi mosques completely by gunpowder, but some of the 'Ulama headed by Maulana Safi Jaunpuri, for whom Sikandar Lodi had great regard, protested and so these mosques were saved.[2] These buildings were later on restored to some extent in 1525 by Humayun.[3] Shah Jahan also visited this place, called it *Dar-u'l-'Ilm* (The Abode of Knowledge) and also named it *Shiraz-i-Hind.*[4] Aurangzeb also visited this place and tried to restore the mosques to their former beauty.[5] But unfortunately the buildings of this city met a further calamity. The great flood (12th September) and earthquake (26th September) of 1871 very seriously affected the whole city, and its buildings were further damaged.[6] The epidemic (September, 1871) that followed those disasters greatly reduced the popula-

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 106.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, I: 13-14.

[4] Ghulam Hasan, f. 4b.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 21.

[6] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 103. The flood and the earthquake destroyed two-thirds of the buildings.

tion.[1] Again in 1894 floods of the Gumti damaged the dilapidated monuments and other buildings of the city.[2] By the end of the 19th century not much was left of its past grandeur. The remains in and outside Jaunpur are in a dilapidated condition, yet worth mentioning for their past history. The Sharqi forts, mosques, palaces, tombs and shrines and other minor architectural activities in and outside the capital city of Jaunpur are as follows.

SECTION II

The Sharqi Forts

The kingdom of Jaunpur had a very peculiar position, situated as it was in a fertile region in the heart of Hindustan and surrounded by the powerful kingdoms of Malwa, Bengal and Delhi. To safeguard their position against formidable neighbours the Sharqi rulers found it necessary to maintain a huge army. Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi had 170,000 cavalry and 1,400 war elephants. This was the largest army that any kingdom (or ruler) had in that period.[3] To strengthen their defences and to station this army, the Sharqi rulers built many forts and repaired many old ones.[4] Most of them have vanished owing to the ravages of time. Only a few remain, and these too in a dilapidated condition. The modern district of Rai Bareilly alone has five fortresses of the Sharqi period—an indication of the large number of fortified positions which the Kingdom of Jaunpur as a whole must have had at its height. These five forts in Rai Bareilly are as follows: (1) a mud fort (along with two mosques in stone) built by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in the old village of

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 107-8. At this time people took refuge in the Jami' Mosque. The Atala and Lal Darwazah Mosques were also very seriously affected by this flood.

[2] One flood came in the beginning of 1894 and the other in October, 1894. When Duncan visited it in 1788 and wrote favourably about this city, he lamented its decay and remarked that once this city had been Shiraz or the medieval Paris of India. A. Fuhrer, I: 28.

[3] *Tabaqat*, I: 301-2; 'Abdullah, p. 13; Firishta, I: 321-22 and II: 598-99.

[4] Like many others, the fort of Banaras was repaired by Husain in 1465. *Tabaqat*, III: 284.

Thulandi; (2) a fort about five miles east of this in the old village of Hardoi;[1] (3) a broken brick fort of Nasirabad, four miles south-east of tehsil Ja'is which, tradition says, Sultan Ibrahim built in memory of his son, Nasir-u'd-din;[2] (4 and 5) two old forts repaired by Ibrahim Sharqi, one at Dalmau and another in the capital city of Rai Bareilly. But before describing in detail the latter two, we should like to mention first the details of the fort of the capital city of Jaunpur, known as Karar Kot, also prominent as the seat of government throughout the Sharqi rule.

Karar Kot Fort (Jaunpur)

This fort, situated on the north bank of the Gumti, was originally founded by Sultan Firuz of Delhi on the artificial mound of the ruined temple of Karar Bhir. Local traditions connect the temple with the name of the mythical Raja Ram Chandra of Ajodhya, who is said to have built it at the spot where he had killed a man-eater giant by the name of Karar Bhir.[3] When in 1359 Sultan Firuz ordered the foundation of the new city of Jaunpur, this temple was dismantled and instead a fort was erected on the mound; this fort received the name of Karar Bhir Fort.[4] The muhalla near the fort is also known as Karar Kot. A stone, built into the south-west wall of the fort is known as Karar Bhir and is still worshipped by the Hindus, who anoint it by way of worship.[5]

The building mainly erected by Firuz was modified by Sultan-ush-Sharq, who first made it the government headquarters. The cultured prince Ibrahim on coming to power not only repaired the dilapidated part of this fort but added many pavilions and baths as well as a beautiful mosque for the convenience of

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 319-20.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 1. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 35.

[4] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 35-36. A. Fuhrer, I: 4.

[5] *Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.*

his nobles and his administrative staff.[1]

This fort is an irregular quadrangle formed by a stone wall built on top of the Karar Bhir, the artificial mound.[2] The external walls are of considerable height, though they are not uniform, owing to the unequal level of the mound.[3] The northern wall of the fort is not well placed for defence purposes, for outside it there is high ground that offers obvious advantages to invaders.[4] Besides the rally-post on the south-eastern face, there is one steep passage which was originally cut through the artificial mound for allowing elephants to pass.[5] The only entrance was by a gateway on the east, now in a broken condition, which is 46′-4″ in height, 43′-8″ in width at the base and 40′-3″ along the top, giving a slope to the walls of 1′-8″ each.[6] There are projecting piers on both sides of the entrance connected by a lofty stone arch-way and divided into four storeys by ornamental string moulding.[7] The face of each storey has an arched recess, which contains an inner panel having a cusped head which is further ornamented with bells as well as pietra dura. Over the recess there is an ornamented flat stone lintel. Under the main arch there is a wall which is pierced by small arched openings, below which is a small bracketed cornice.[8] Below that there is another arch-way which springs from moulded capitals crowning the jambs at the angles of the entrance.[9] Finally the lower part of the gateway is strengthened by a heavy plinth, having a similar design to that of the east entrance of the Atala Mosque.[10] The depth of the gate is 16′-1″ and there are small chambers of

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 36-37.
[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 23.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

3′-8″ and 4′-7″ and 7′-10″ high on each side of the entrance leading to the main building of the fort. The gate on the north and south sides is guarded by round loopholed bastions that are much wider at the base than above.[1]

When Sikandar Lodi occupied Jaunpur and laid waste the Sharqi monuments he destroyed not only the royal mansions inside the fort but also its outer fortifications, ramparts and gate.[2] The material of these demolished buildings was used later on by Lodi nobles to erect their own residences. Later when the Mughul Emperor Humayun ordered the restoration of the broken monuments, this fort was also rebuilt.[3] All is now desolate within the walls of that old fort, which had once been a fine example of the military architecture of India.

The Fort of Rai Bareilly[4]

Originally this was an old Hindu fort.[5] When Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi succeeded to the throne and made new establishments in different parts of his kingdom, the town of Rai Bareilly was also restored in 820/1417.[6] At the same time Sultan Ibrahim found it necessary to strengthen his position by building a new fort on the ruined mound of the old Hindu fort.[7] This new fort, rising from an earthen mound, was a vast structure in the shape of a quadrangle.[8] Now it is in a dilapidated condition and only a few fragments of it remain. One is the western gate, built of

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 23.

[2] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 19 and 38.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] This town (Rai Bareilly) is pleasantly situated on the river Sai. It was originally founded by Bhars, who called it Bharalvi, changed afterwards to Bareilly.

[5] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 324.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

huge bricks, and the main entrance of the fort.[1] The other is the *ba'oli, i.e.,* a vast circular well, about thirty-five feet in diammeter.[2] The well is lined with huge bricks supporting balconies, and it also contains chambers on a level with the water. There is no elevated plateau inside it as the Dalmau fort has, but there is a fosse outside it which denotes that originally the work was obviously intended for military purposes.[3]

The Fort of Dalmau[4]

This fort is situated on a cliff about a hundred feet high, overhanging the river Ganges near the ruins of the old town of Dalmau. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi rebuilt and restored it.[5] During the reign of his successors, who maintained it well, it remained in use for about a century. It is an irregular quadrangle having its two north eastern sides 163 and 315 yards long respectively; and the other two sides are of similar dimensions.[6] Its total circumference is 900 yards. The space within the quadrangle is circumscribed by retreating ramparts.[7] The defences of this fort consist of a vast earthen mound, from forty to sixty feet high, and many hundreds of feet thick.[8] The whole fort stands on an immense

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 324.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[4] The town of Dalmau lies on the banks of the Ganges and is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in the Rai Bareilly District, U.P. *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XI.

[5] Once Sultan Ibrahim was impelled to attack Dalmau whose chief, Dal Bhar tried forcibly to marry the daughter of a poor Sayyid, Baba Haji. Sultan Ibrahim killed Kado Ram, the brother of Dal Bhar, who had opposed him at the village of Sodamapur, fourteen miles distance from the town of Dalmau. Then he conquered the whole Dal Bhar army. The tomb of Dal Bhar still stands about two miles from the capital, and the *Ahirs* offer milk on it in the month of Sawan. A masonry well and a garden created by Sultan Ibrahim on the bank of the river in Dalmau still remind us of the incident. On this occasion Sultan Ibrahim left this memento of Dalmau in the shape of a picturesque foot overhanging the Ganges. *Kings of the East*, pp. 43-47.

[6] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

artificial mound covering a total area of eight acres; on the top of it used to be a wall all around, but it is now in a broken condition except on the south east corner of the river face.[1] At this point the earth is covered with brickwork at an angle of about thirty degrees towards the ground.[2] Here at a perpendicular height of about 40 feet the battlements rise well within the wall, each outer one acting as a buttress for that on the inside.[3] The side facing the river, scraped by the action of the water, is difficult to scale.[4]

It looks as if this fort was not designed for military purposes. There is no ditch outside. A mass of earthwork further shows that it was never constructed on sufficiently strong foundations to make it suitable for defence against the enemy.

The interior of the fort has pavilions, mosques and tombs of the Mughul period, now in a ruined condition.[5] But a gateway to the east erected by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi still stands; it is largely composed of carved slabs, pieces of pillars and architraves. A careful study shows that the material used for it was partly derived from the ancient temples.[6]

This dilapidated fort with its tottering pavilions and crumbling battlements is still the most arresting object on the banks of the Ganges at Awadh, and is now falling away day by day as the stream below cuts away a portion of it every year.

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320-21.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22. Originally this mound was of two Buddhist stupas which were demolished by a Brahman leader, Raja Dela Deva, who afterwards connected both the ruined mounds, giving to the spot the shape of a vast plateau.

SECTION III

The Sharqi Mosques

(A) *The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur*

Fort Mosque

This mosque stands inside the Karar Kot Fort and is the earliest example of the mosque architecture of the city of Jaunpur. One of its pillars bears a long Arabic inscription, according to which it was founded in *Zu'l-qa'da* 778/April, 1377, by Ibrahim Na'ib Barbek, brother of Sultan Firuz.[1] It was completed under the early Sharqis at the same time as the Jaunpur fort was constructed.[2]

This mosque is a long narrow building, being 130′-4″ in length and 23 feet in breadth.[3] It has a simple arcade which is supported on carved Hindu pillars of various designs but they have no plinth. The main position of the mosque is divided into three chambers by two lateral walls. The central room measures 37′-5″ by 14′-10″ and is spanned by two arches of fifteen feet which further divide it into three distinct portions carved by plastered domes.[4] Both the side rooms are 40′-1″ by 18′-10″ and 8′-2″ in height, with five bays in the length and two in the breadth.[5] In the middle of each room there is a row of round pillars. There is also a row of pillars against the back wall, but they are square in shape.[6] All these pillars are built up of different kinds of shafts pieced together. Some of them are square in shape,

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 26-27. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (*Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 36-38) reads this date as 798/1395-96. However, its completion might have taken place during the reign of Sultan-ush-Sharq, under the supervision of Ibrahim (Sharqi), who was governor of the city at that time and who had also built up these spacious Turkish baths there.

[2] Barani, pp. 148-49.

[3] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 25.

[5] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 105. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 329.

[6] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*

some octagonal, some round and others hexagonal.[1] In the same way its capitals, which are double and support the architraves and upon which rest the flat slabs of stone forming the ceiling, are also of different designs.[2]

The external facade of the mosque is plastered and devoid of decoration. At the top of the central *mihrab* there is an Arabic inscription which is still well preserved. The central apartment has a height of 24′-0″ and stands 2′-6″ over arched entrances on each side, leading to the domed and central area rising some 7′-6″ over the low arcades on each side.[3] Moreover on the central arch of each side a tapered octagonal stone has been introduced which has a shaft of 36 feet in height and which is also moulded at the top.[4]

The centre of the spandrels over the arches is decorated with a small pietra dura.[5] Its frieze is divided into three flat panels and is further surmounted by a plain projecting cornice as well as an embattled parapet.[6] All the vaults of the mosque are nicely plastered.[7] The western pillars have flat roofs and are enclosed by a plastered brick wall with niches.[8]

This mosque had no minarets; instead there were two pillars standing at a distance of about 27 feet in front of the building.[9] One of these pillars has disappeared, leaving its plinth only; the other, which bears the inscription mentioned above, still stands and measures 40 feet high.[10]

There is another monolith of a later date measuring 2′-6″

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 25.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
[9] A. Fuhrer, I: 26.
[10] *Ibid.*

in height and 2′-5″ across its base. It records a Persian inscription of seventeen verses, the last of which gives its date of erection as 1178/1766.[1] This monolith was built by *Khan-i-Khanan* Mun'im Khan, then governor on behalf of the Nawab Wazir of Awadh, who took an interest in the repairs of this mosque.[2]

Atala Mosque

This mosque takes its name from the temple of Atala Devi, on the site of which it was erected.[3] The story of its erection is that, when in 1359, Sultan Firuz visited this area and caught sight of this temple, he wanted it to be demolished. According to Khair-u'd-din Muhammad, the Sultan abandoned the idea when the local Hindus strongly and unanimously objected.[4] But when Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi succeeded to the Sharqi throne, he could not resist his religious zeal, so he ordered the destruction of this temple. On its site the Atala Mosque was erected, with the material of the same temple as well as of those which had also once been demolished in its neighbourhood.[5] It was finished in 1408.[6]

Khair-u'd-din Muhammad mentions that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi accompanied by his nobles and officers often used to offer Friday as well as '*Id* prayers there.[7] Tradition has it that the Sharqi rulers used to go there for prayers after finishing their daily official duties and that they even used its chambers for storing their booty and spoils.[8] Like the rest of the Jaunpuri mosques, this was also partly destroyed by Sikandar Lodi.[9] But in 1860

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 41-45. P. Brown, p. 44. A. Fuhrer, I: 30.

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 36. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 41.

[5] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 41-43.

[6] A. Fuhrer, p. 38.

[7] *Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[9] *Ibid.*

it was restored to a great extent by the efforts of Munshi Haidar Husain of Jaunpur and is still intact.[1]

The Atala mosque, an early specimen of the Jaunpur style, is the most ornate and most beautiful of all the Jaunpuri mosques. This splendid piece of architecture covers an area of 258 square feet.[2] Its courtyard is 177 feet in diameter, around which on three sides are the cloisters and on the fourth the sanctuary.[3] The west side where the sanctuary stands is divided into five compartments. At the back of the principal propylon is the central room. Next to it on either side is one oblong room, 62′-0″ by 28′-8″, of one storey. Then there are two more small rooms in each corner. These small rooms consist of two storeys, and had originally been separated with stone screenwork from the rest of the buildings.[4]

The central chamber is oblong in form, *i.e.*, 35 feet in length and 29′-6″ in width, and has been roofed above with a grand dome.[5] This entire chamber which once formed an elaborate and artistic piece of work, has now been marred by various coats of whitewash from time to time. It has transept pillars on either side. Its decorative treatment consists of three different stages, each depending on an arrangement of arches or arcades for its effect. The lowest stage of this compartment has three *mihrabs;* of these the central one has been recessed 4′-4″ from the face of the wall.[6] All these *mihrabs* have been beautifully carved and have black bands round their arches.[7] To the north of the central *mihrab* stands a pulpit.

The second decorated stage of the above-mentioned compart-

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 43.

[2] P. Brown, p. 44. A. Fuhrer, I: 30.

[3] P. Brown, *op. cit.* A. Fuhrer, I: 32.

[4] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] A. Fuhrer, I: 130. P. Brown, p. 44, is mistaken in describing its length and width as 35 ft. by 30 ft.

[7] A. Fuhrer, I: 35. P. Brown, p. 45.

ment, *i.e.*, of the central chamber, has decorative arches, four of which are squinched as well as bridged across the angles. This gives it the shape of an octagon. Through the screened openings of these arches light comes to its upper part. Then comes the upper stage which is sixteen-sided and supports the dome.[1]

The grand dome, which has an octagonal shape, is 56′-2″ in height from the inner side.[2] For its interior decoration black marble has largely been used and for the same purpose there have been made arches, *mihrabs* and architraves. The top section of this dome is sixteen-sided; from it springs the cupola, which has been divided into enriched panels by projecting ribs of black marble.[3] The external cornice from which this dome springs is executed in stone, though its external coating has been cemented. Its crowning bands are ornamented with pointed arcading which projects from the face 1′-½″. Finally there are rosette carvings in the centre of each arch in relief, which give a very noble appearance.[4]

Each of the pillared oblong rooms on either side of the central room measures 62′-0″ by 28′-8″. They are also roofed by smaller domes. These domes have stone moulding around their bases, in the same way as that of the drums and cornices of the other ones.[5]

Then in each corner, at the farther end, there is another low room of two storeys on either side.[6] Their upper storeys are surrounded by perforated stone screens for use as *Zanana* (female) galleries.[7] Their ceilings are panelled and richly carved.[8] The

[1] P. Brown, *ibid.*

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 38.

[6] A. Fuhrer, I: 32. P. Brown, p. 45.

[7] A. Fuhrer, *ibid.* P. Brown, *ibid.*

[8] A. Fuhrer, *ibid.* P. Brown, *ibid.*

external wall of these *Zanana* galleries on the north and south sides respectively, are pierced with window openings filled in with stone trellis-work, and their western walls are divided into bays.[1]

The most striking feature of this Sharqi architectural gem is its propylon, where Jaunpur architects have combined their artistic skill with remarkable originality. This splendid part of the mosque recalls the propylon of an Egyptian temple. It was used instead of minarets. Its height is 75′-0″ and its width across the base is 54′-7″; across the top it remains only 47′-0″.[2] There are staircases on each side of it leading to its top. Their exterior is divided into six storeys which have been decorated by string courses. All storeys except the first and the sixth storeys are embellished with recessed arches.[3] The central portion has a great arched recess of eleven feet in depth. Its upper portion is pierced with openings and was filled in originally with screenwork. It also has entrances to the nave on its lower portion.[4] There are propylons on a smaller scale which have been placed on either side of it and have also been decorated with carvings and other geometrical devices.[5]

The courtyard of this grand mosque is reached by three massive gateways, which lie in the centre of the north, south and east facades. They have staircases on either side of them which lead to the upper cloisters. The height of each of these gateways is 34′-6″ from the base and from the top which remains 38′-0″.[6] The screen walls of these gateways over the inner arch are panelled where in the centre of each a Persian inscription still exists, though in a broken condition.[7] Towards the courtyard side at

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 32. P. Brown, p. 45.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 34.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 34. S. Lane-Poole, pp. 170-71.

[4] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.* P. Brown, p. 44.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 36.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the front of both north and south gateways there is an octagonal room of one storey high with domed roof.[1] These panelled domes are enriched by decorative cornices both internally and externally. The whole structure of these gateways is supported by square pillars; shafts of these are of Hindu design, placed one above the other to the height of one storey.[2]

But the third entrance of the eastern side is the largest and most beautiful, and in design generally resembles that grand propylon which is in the front of the grand dome. From the centre it is recessed and spanned by a four-centred arch of ogee form and the spaces above its spandrels are panelled and ornamented by pietra dura. The upper part of the gables is pierced whereas the lower is divided into panelled bands which are beautifully fretted. The whole structure stands on a massive podium. Its top is crowned by an elaborate, bold cornice and its dome has the same sort of decoration as that of the other two.[3] Like the other two gateways it also had a Persian inscription slab, which has now been replaced by a new one.[4]

This mosque has the usual cloisters on its three sides, each very spacious and 42 feet in width.[5] So far as the ground floor cloisters are concerned they are three aisles in depth and have square and coupled columns.[6] Towards their outer side there is a row of rooms and in front of them is a pillared verandah which faces the street.[7] The upper storey differs from the lower. There the space is occupied by those rooms which have been built in front of the cloisters. The first of these cloisters is covered by a verandah.[8] Its entire breadth is divided into five open aisles and

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 35.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[5] P. Brown, p. 44.
[6] A. Fuhrer, p. 33.
[7] A. Fuhrer, I: 32. P. Brown, p. 44.
[8] A. Fuhrer, I: 33.

there are also rows of square as well as octagonal columns.[1]

A thorough study of this mosque testifies that many elements in its design were directly derived from the Tughluq architecture. For instance, the recessed arch with its fringe of ornamentation as well as its shape and sloping sides is to be found in Sultan Muhammad Shah's (1390-93) tomb at Tughluqabad. Also the irregular arches here are borrowed from the same source, and the plain square shafts of the pillars and particularly the tapering turrets on the quoins of the western exterior wall seem to have been copied from Sultan Firuz Shah's buildings. It shows that the workmen who were employed here were trained in the same traditions as those of the imperial capital of Delhi; in fact, most of them had taken refuge under the Sharqis after the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire, and flourished here under their benevolent patronage. Moreover, the original and distinctive manner in which the elements comprising the scheme have been combined here indicates that this final conception was achieved by the genius of master builders, who had a very high training and mature vision. Local Hindu artisans were also employed; they made their own contribution to the architectural synthesis.

Jhanjri Mosque

This mosque, which also gives its name to the adjoining muhalla, was erected by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi with the material of Vijaya Chandra's temple of Mukatghat, said to have been demolished by Sultan Firuz.[2] This mosque is also known by the name of Chachikpur.[3] Sultan Ibrahim built it for the convenience of the celebrated saint, Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal, who had once been his prime minister and who, after retiring from that post, used to live in the Muhalla of Shaikhuwarah, which is quite close to it.[4] Like other buildings this mosque also suffered the

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 33.
[2] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 12. A. Fuhrer, I: 41. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 242.
[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 51-52 and 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 89-90.

same fate at the destructive hands of Sikandar Lodi, who pulled down a part of its court walls along with its main eastern gate.[1] Later on floods in the Gumti seriously damaged this noble piece of architecture so that the grand dome on its central chamber and some other parts crumbled afterwards.[2] Subsequently its stones and bricks were appropriated for other public and private buildings, notably the great bridge built by Mun'am Khan Khan-i-Khanan.[3]

Its total area, including its courtyard, is 72 square feet.[4] It has been completely rebuilt now, the only original parts intact being a stone wall, some stone pillars and great piers.[5] These great piers, which flank a screen of much grace and beauty, show that the building in its original, complete form must have been remarkable in the richness of its treatment, and especially in its size, in comparison with all the Sharqi buildings except that of the Atala Mosque. The central portion of the facade still remains, and because of the fine screen-like appearance of its arched propylon, it is called the Jhanjri Mosque. The base of this propylon is 35′-6″ in width and the span of its arch is 23′-9″.[6] The present brick wall, which forms a small enclosure, and a low-roofed insignificant chamber behind the screen are later additions. This small old remaining portion helps the onlooker to conjure up the form and pattern of the original monument. Some of the parts of the remaining building such as its entrance, which is in the shape of an arcade of openings on the pillars, beams and bracket, indicate indigenous elements. That gives the impression that the builders were much interested in its plastic treatment, which is the finest thing in this mosque as compared

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 51-52. A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, No. 2, December, 1962, p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 85.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[6] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.

with the other Sharqi examples.[1] This mosque, compared with the previous architectural achievements of the Sharqis, seems to be an example of elegance and strength. It has an Arabic inscription in raised letters beautifully carved on the inner arch, which is actually a part of its screen, and which is the only instance of this type of decoration in Jaunpur.[2] This mosque is greatly revered by the local population because of its association with saint Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal.

Khalis Mukhlis Mosque

This mosque is known variously as the Darbiya Mosque or Khalis Mukhlis Mosque or Chahar Ungli Mosque.[3] It was built by two chief nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, Malik Mukhlis and Malik Khalis, in 1430, in honour of a celebrated saint, Sayyid 'Usman Shirazi.[4] It stands on the old site of a favourite temple of Raja Vijaya Chandra.[5] The ruins of this temple still exist on the northern side of this celebrated mosque.[6] The mosque is commonly known as the Chahar Ungli Mosque, because of a stone three inches in length in the south pier on the left side of the main entrance. It was reputed to have the virtue of measuring exactly four *unglis* (fingers), *i.e.,* about four inches in length, irrespective of the hand measuring. Many Hindus worship this stone and many Muslims too revere it.[7]

The mosque was built originally for the convenience of the celebrated saint, Sayyid 'Usman, who was born at Shiraz, later

[1] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 41. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 51-52.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 50. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 242.

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 41. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 50. P. Brown, p. 45. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 242, only mentions one name (Malik) Khalis and records 1417 as its date of erection. P. Brown mentions 1430 as its date of erection. Ghulam Hasan, f. 17b, mentions Khalis and Mukhlis as slaves of Sultan Ibrahim. A. Fuhrer mentions them as governors of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Khair-u'd-din (*Jaunpur Nama*, p. 50) mentions them as chief nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.

[5] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 50-51.

[6] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.*

[7] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.*

on came to Delhi, and from there moved on to Jaunpur because of the invasion of Timur.[1] His descendants still reside near the mosque.[2]

This mosque is a plain, serviceable structure and consists of the usual great propylon, domed hall, two wings and a large square enclosure some 66 feet in depth, with a flat roof supported on ten rows of pillars somewhat in the Hindu style.[3] The whole structure of the building is simple. Its gates along with the walls were also pulled down by the orders of Sikandar Lodi.[4] It remained for years in a dilapidated condition, but it has now been repaired and is in use.[5]

Lal Darwazah Mosque

This mosque was built in 1447[6] during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, by Queen Bibi Raji, who, as mentioned by Khair-u'd-din Muhammad, dedicated it to Sayyid 'Ali-Da'ud, a celebrated saint of Jaunpur, whose descendants still live in the Muhalla Namaz Gah next to this mosque.[7] This Muhalla was so named by Bibi Raji, who also built here a monastery and a college. The college was staffed by capable 'ulama and scholars as professors, and admitted students from all over the country, many of them on scholarships.[8] To commemorate his name (Ali Daud) Queen Bibi Raji also founded a village which still

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 50.

[2] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 51-52. *D. G. Jaunpur, op. cit.*

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 242. P. Brown, p. 45.

[4] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 50.

[5] *Ibid.* A. Fuhrer, I: 41.

[6] P. Brown, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 52-53. P. Brown wrongly mentions its date of erection as 1450, and so does Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (*Jaunpur Nama*), 806/1403. The inscription of this mosque gives the right date of its construction as 1447.

[7] A. Fuhrer, I: 51. P. Brown, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.* S. Lane-Poole, p. 171.

[8] *Jaunpur Nama, op. cit. Muslim Khawatin Ki Ta'lim*, p. 36, mentions that one school for female education was founded in 845/1441 at Jaunpur by the said queen.

exists and is called Sayyid Ali-pur.[1] The Lal Darwazah Mosque (Ruby Gate Mosque) owes its name to the vermilion-painted, lofty gateway of Bibi Raji's royal palace that once stood adjacent to it.[2] It is situated in the extreme north-west of the city in the aforesaid muhalla, which is also known by two other names, *i.e.*, Begam-Ganj and Lal Darwazah.[3]

The style of the architecture of this mosque is similar to that of the Jami' Mosque and Atala Mosque.[4] It is smaller in size and its edifice and walls are lighter and thinner than either.[5] It is built mostly of stone, but in certain parts bricks with cement have also been used. All the external as well as internal walls are so neatly tooled that one is compelled to admire the mastery of the builders. The fine joints of the walls are beautifully worked out, and in thickness hardly exceed that of the blade of a knife.[6] The columns and shafts in the whole building are of stone and those which are on the outer face of the cloisters in front of the courtyard are of one piece.[7]

The general plan of the whole building is as follows: the quadrangle containing the mosque measures 190′-0″ by 171′-0″ externally. But from the inside the mosque measures 168′-6″ by 35′-4″; this space is divided into three chambers, a central chamber and an oblong room on either side. These chambers consist of four aisles in depth and have fine openings towards the courtyard as well as into the north and south cloisters. The central one is square in plan, each side measuring 22′-7½″, and

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 46.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 43. P. Brown, *op. cit*. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit*. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad (*Jaunpur Nama*) and Mr. Neveil (*D. G. Jaunpur*) are mistaken in calling this palace Badi'Manzal. The name of the palace was Mahal Bibi Raji.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 43. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.

[4] P. Brown, p. 45. S. Lane-Poole, p. 171.

[5] *D. G. Jaunpur*, *op. cit*. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit*.

[6] The exceptions are the joints of those parts which were restored afterwards and which are very inferior to the real ones.

[7] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit*.

is roofed with a grand dome. In the front of this is an entrance hall having a depth of three bays, which forms a peculiar feature not found in the other Sharqi mosques. The roof of this hall is supported by slender pillars partly of Hindu design.[1] On each side of the central hall there is a raised gallery forming a second storey, to which the staircases lead, passing through the piers of the propylaeum. These galleries were known as *Zanana galleries* and were used for prayers as well as other religious needs of women—a peculiar feature of all Jaunpur mosques, which shows that special attention was given to the spiritual requirements of women folk.[2]

The *mimber,* (pulpit), which projects from the western wall of the central chamber, has oblong columns of equal height. These columns are square in shape, their inner row is single and their outer one double.[3] The principal *mihrab* of this mosque is the finest of all the *mihrabs* and is oblong in plan. It is ornamented with cusped arches and other beautiful carvings quite different in design from that of Atala.[4]

The propylon of this mosque is 48′-6″ high and 44′-9″ wide, which slightly inclines towards its top, where its breadth becomes 43′-0″. Its towers contain staircases leading to its top, where once the call to prayers was announced.[5] The facade of the towers has been divided into different storeys, which have been decorated with ornamented string courses as well as deep horizontal lines. The facade of the propylaeum is elaborately decorated. There are geometrical designs in the form of seven-pointed stars enclosed by circles.[6] Then its great arch which connects the towers and has a double ogee form is remarkable. Above this

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 44. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 44-46. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244. P. Brown, p. 45.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

arch, in the spandrels, beautiful double rosettes are carved. Here in the centre of its opening is a black stone inscribed with *Kalimah.*[1] Its columns are square in shape and the space between them has been spanned by stone beams with admirable effect.

The grand dome which roofs the central chamber is 22′-8″ in diameter and stands at the rear of the propylon. It is octagonal in shape and its total height is 4′-4½″.[2] The sides which give it form are panelled and arched, and in each have been placed trellis windows to admit light. The top of this dome is crowned by a finial which stands on a large base like an inverted shell.[3]

It has three gateways, of which the eastern one, the main gateway, is the largest and most important. It stands on a massive panelled pedestal. It measures 25′-4″ across the base and stands 30 feet high from the topmost step of the flight leading up the road.[4] This gateway has towers on either side, which have highly decorated borders.[5] The spandrels of this arch where also runs a floral frieze is enriched by diaper work plain but effective in design.[6] In the same way the top of this gateway is crowned by a cornice having a carved corona.[7]

The facade of the outer wall is now in a dilapidated condition.[8] But its back wall, though plain in design, is similar to that of the Jami‘ Mosque, is still in good condition, and gives it a fort-like appearance.[9]

This mosque like other Jaunpur examples was also built partly of the destroyed material of Buddhist and Hindu temples, which

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 45.

[2] *Ibid. D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244, is mistaken in describing its diameter as 22/23 feet.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 45. *D. G. Jaunpur, op. cit.*

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 45.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244.

has been beautifully utilized in its erection.[1] Like other Sharqi monuments, this also suffered at the destructive hands of Sikandar Lodi, who also pulled down the splendid palace of Queen Bibi Raji as well as the fine buildings of the college and monastery adjacent to it.[2]

Jami'-ush-Sharq

This is one of the splendid and large mosques of Jaunpur. It stands in the Purani Bazar on the Kathan road in Muhalla 'Umar Khan. Its foundations were laid by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in 1438, but it was completed some time in 883/1478 by Sultan Husain Sharqi.[3] According to Khair-u'd-din Muhammad, Sultan Ibrahim started building this mosque near the residence of Khwaja 'Isa, to save him the trouble of walking a mile for his Friday prayers.[4] Shortly afterwards Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died, leaving the building incomplete.[5] Neither Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, ever busy with his local wars, nor Sultan Muhammad, deeply involved in conflict with the Lodi power, found time to complete the edifice.[6] Sultan Husain Sharqi, despite his many wars, was able to carry the construction of the mosque to completion in 883/1478, just a few years before his final overthrow by Bahlul.[7] Sikandar Lodi did not spare this mosque and destroyed its splendid, inscribed gate. At the same time he pulled down the royal residential quarters which were adjacent to it, including a college as well as the cloisters of the mosque, the destruction of which very seriously affected the domes and the walls of the

1 A. Fuhrer, I: 49.

2 *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.

3 A. Fuhrer, I: 52. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 46-49. E. B. Havell, p. 69. P. Brown, p. 45. E. B. Havell mentions its date of completion as 1470 and P. Brown as 1464. Both are incorrect. It is also known as Masjid-i-Kalan (*Jaunpur Nama*, p. 45) as well as Jami'-ush-Sharq

4 A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, *op. cit. D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244.

5 A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, *op. cit.*

6 A. Fuhrer, *op. cit. Jaunpur Nama*, p. 46.

7 A. Fuhrer, I: 52. *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 46 and 90. P. Brown, p. 45. E. B. Havell, p. 69. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244. P. Brown is mistaken in writing the date of its completion as 1470.

rest of the building.[1] Had not the learned scholars made an appeal that these noble Sharqi monuments should be spared, Sikandar would perhaps have up-rooted their foundations completely.[2] During the reign of Akbar, Sultan Husain Sharqi's great-grandson, *'Umar Khan,* started its restoration. He had repaired some of its cloisters, walls, and inner portions of the chamber, when he suddenly died. The rest of the building remained unrepaired. This was done, however, in later times and now this mosque is in a fairly good condition.

Essentially the plan of this mosque is similar to that of the Atala Mosque, but on a large scale.[3] The whole structure of the mosque stands on a terrace 16 to 20 feet high which slightly slopes towards the south. Its lower portion is almost level with the road, and on the east, south and north sides, under upper cloisters, there are small rooms, used now as shops, in front of which there is a verandah of 9′-7″ in width.[4] On the west side stands the lower portion of the main structure of the mosque. Above the ranges of small rooms, *i.e.*, the small shops and verandah on the northern, southern and eastern sides, there are cloisters forming a second storey which surrounds the courtyard of the mosque, and which measures 221 by 221 feet.[5] In the middle of each of these three sides there are massive, domed gateways, of which the one on the east side was purposely destroyed by Sikandar Lodi, as has been mentioned before, because of its Sharqi inscription.[6] The west side has as usual the main building of the mosque, which measures 235 feet by 59 feet excluding bastions and the angles.[7] This portion is divided into five rooms.

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 47-49. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244. A. Fuhrer, I: 53.

[2] *Jaunpur Nama, op. cit.* Sikandar Lodi also intended to destroy the Sharqi mosques by gunpowder, but Maulana Safi Jaunpuri, heading a number of 'ulama, courageously protested.

[3] P. Brown, p. 45.

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 52-53.

[5] P. Brown, p. 45. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 244.

[6] A. Fuhrer, I: 52-53. *D. G. Jaunpur, op. cit.*

[7] A. Fuhrer, I: 53. *D. G. Jaunpur, op. cit.*

One is a central chamber which measures 39′-8½″ by 39′-8½″ and is roofed by a grand dome.[1] On either side of it there are two pillared rooms which measure 25′-4″ by 44′-7″ and are surmounted by a *Zanana* gallery.[2] Again on either side of these rooms there is an arched hall which measures 49′-3″ by 39′-7½″. Finally all these rooms are connected by arched openings.[3] The entire back wall of all these rooms towards the middle has the bays where in the middle of each is a *mihrab;* of these the central one is comparatively more decorated.[4] The details of the whole mosque are as follows.

The central chamber of this splendid mosque is the most imposing and ornate feature in size. Its surrounding walls are pierced by archways, except the western one, which is recessed with charming *mihrabs.* It is roofed by a sixteen-sided dome.[5] The design of this chamber has been drawn on the same lines as that of the Atala Mosque, with a few alterations necessitated by its large size, such as the clerestory arcade, which serves to provide light for the interior of the dome.[6] The internal height of this chamber is 67′-6″, which makes it very impressive to look at.[7] Eight of the sixteen sides in the upper storey are arched and pierced and filled in with baluster-like work through which light flows and beautifies the whole chamber. The other eight sides are filled in with screen-work.[8] Below in the west wall there are three *mihrabs,* of which the central one is the largest and most beautiful. Near it stands the *mimber,* (pulpit), which is 6′-0″ in

[1] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.* P. Brown, p. 46. A. Fuhrer is mistaken in describing its measurements as 39′-7½″ by 89′-8½″.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 53. P. Brown, p. 46, *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 245. P. Brown is mistaken in giving its height as 45 feet, length 56 feet and breadth, 40 feet.

[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 55, mentions its correct measurements whereas P. Brown is mistaken in describing its length as 50 feet and width 40 feet. The latter describes its height as 45 feet whereas A. Fuhrer measures it 44′-4½″.

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 54. P. Brown, p. 45.

[6] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.* P. Brown, *op. cit.*

[7] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.* P. Brown, *op. cit.*

[8] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

height and 4 feet in width.[1]

The stone-built dome of this noble fabric is a wonderful piece of workmanship.[2] As has been mentioned before, it roofs the central chamber in the rear of the propylon. It has an octagonal drum and its octagonal sides are arched and richly ornamented with beautiful carvings and crowned by a deep frieze.[3] The base of its cupola is enriched by a band of arabesque and tile work, and in the latter red and white pigments have been elaborately used.[4] Its exterior shell is separate from that of the interior, and consists of a different segment of circles.[5] The outer side measures 67′-3″ and the inner 55′-3″, having a difference of 12 feet.[6] As General Cunningham has said, there are two different domes, each about 3 feet in thickness with an empty space of 6 feet between them, thus actually forming a true height of 67′-7″ from inside instead of 55′-3″, and from outside 72′-6″.[7] The total diameter of the dome is 39′-5″. The spandrels of its octagonal sides are panelled and ornamented with pietra dura.[8] Under its arches space is filled in with a pierced stone screen of eight panels through which the ladies of the *Zanana* gallery could witness the religious services conducted below.[9]

The low, pillared side apartment on either side of the central chamber is 44′-7″ in length, 25′-4″ in width and 13′-4½″ in height, over which stand the *Zanana* galleries. They have been divided into bays of square, decorated pillars, surmounted by bracket capitals. The construction and shape of the roof of these com-

1 A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

2 *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 245.

3 A. Fuhrer, I: 56.

4 *Ibid.* E. B. Havell, p. 69 is mistaken in writing that all the Jaunpur domes are surmounted by Hindu emblems. These domes have never been under such influence. Rather they reveal originality.

5 A. Fuhrer, I: 54.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

partments are unique; it is supported by stone lintels and takes the form of a wide, pointed vault, recalling in several of its aspects a Gothic college hall or a refectory.[1] The western wall of each is ornamented by *mihrabs*. These transept halls, which are rare and unique, present a very interesting study in Indian architecture. The only other example which we have found is that of the Adina Mosque at Pandua, which had been built about a hundred years before, but that is inferior to this in many respects.[2] Though the brick vault of these vaulted chambers has fallen in, their roofs are still intact and are in as good condition as they were at the time of their erection, which shows that the method of their construction was scientific and sound.[3]

The vaulted chambers at the south-west angle of the mosque are 49′-3″ in length, 39′-7½″ in width and 44′-4½″ in height.[4] The interior face of its southern wall, which is 7′-5″ in thickness and contains a staircase leading to the roof of the vaulted apartment, has arched window openings with minor decorations.[5] The lower portion of the western wall is devoted to three *mihrabs*, of which the central one is the largest and most important and has richly carved architraves. Its soffit is domed.[6] This central *mihrab* also has panels of flat projecting ribs of black stone, the borders of which are richly carved.[7]

The northern vaulted chamber has the same design, but in decoration it differs to some extent from that of the first one. The difference is that its outer border is ornamented with a star pattern instead of floral carvings.[8]

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 54. P. Brown, p. 46.

[2] *Ibid.* Adina Mosque was built in 1384. It measures 70 feet × 34 feet and 50 feet in height.

[3] P. Brown, p. 46.

[4] *Ibid.* He measures these vaulted halls 50 feet × 40 feet and 45 feet in height.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

The *Zanana* galleries which surmount the pillared apartments on each side of the central chamber are another beautiful feature of this grand mosque. They can be approached by staircases which are inside the piers of the propylon.[1] There used to be another staircase at the north-west angle of the mosque as an approach to the northern *Zanana* gallery, but that was removed, owing to its instability, by the local authorities in 1887.[2] These galleries are oblong in shape, and are divided into bays six feet in length and three feet in width. Their ceiling is beautifully carved. The western wall of each gallery has been ornamented with *mihrabs,* the inner portion of which has been recessed. The inner side of these galleries has been decorated with rosettes and carved pietra dura.[3]

The propylon, which is 76′-10½″ at the base, 70′-10″ on the top and 84′-4″ in height, having little sloping walls of 3′-¼″, is the most majestic piece of architecture in the whole building.[4] It is similar in design to that of the Atala Mosque, and stands on a raised platform of 16 feet above the road level, towering over the adjoining buildings, which makes it the most conspicuous object in the whole city of Jaunpur.[5] Its two massive piers, which project some 10 feet from the front of the facade are connected by a lofty arch, which is 72′-2″ in height.[6] This arch resembles a saracenic arch and it has been ingeniously combined with the Hindu lintels; the entire piece shows great originality in construction and in harmonizing the various parts, and reflects great merit on the masons and engineers of Jaunpur.[7] These piers consist of five storeys, and, except the first one, are all arched and enriched

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 57.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 55. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 245, gives its height as 84-1/3 feet, and P. Brown, p. 85 as 77 feet.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] E. B. Havell, p. 69.

with horizontal string courses.[1] They contain stairs leading to the roof of the mosque and from thence to the top of the propylon.[2] So far as the spandrels of the main arch are concerned, they are decorated with raised diaper work.[3] The upper part of this huge arch has been pierced with nine arched openings and the lower with six and, with the exception of the topmost part, all the rest have been arched and cusped and also decorated on each side with carved rosettes.[4] Over them are many windows which connect the *Zanana* galleries of the north with that on the south; and at the same time these windows provide light for the corridor.[5] The central entrance is elaborately decorated with pietra dura as well as with carving and floral designs. The stone lintel ceiling of the grand entrance is also a very fine piece of panelled work.[6]

The facade of the propylon is pierced with arched openings. The exterior of other apartments apart from the central one is emphasized by a deep moulded string course as well as ornamented by panels. In the same way the north and south sides of the piers of the propylon have been ornamented by four oblong recessed panels.[7]

Of its three massive gateways two, *i.e.*, the northern and the southern, have domed roofs.[8] They have a base of 40 feet and height of 43′-11½″ and across the top measure 37′-10½″.[9] They have square chambers in the rear which have been roofed by domes with an octagonal drum.[10] The approach to these gateways

[1] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*
[2] A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*
[3] A. Fuhrer, I: 55.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

is by a steep flight of steps. The third eastern one which used to be the main gateway of this mosque is still in the same dismantled condition as it was left by Sikandar Lodi.[1]

Its edifice, like that of the Atala Mosque, has been constructed of ashlar stone and has been neatly tooled with fine joints. Its roofs and coping domes, like its exterior, are all floated in cement.[2]

'Id Gah Mosque[3]

This 'Id Gah stands in the *muhalla* Kat Garh along the Allahabad road on the other side of the river Gumti.[4] It was built by Sultan Husain Sharqi, who used to go there to say his prayers with great pomp and show, accompanied by his nobles, officials, scholars, students and troops, crossing the boat bridge which was usually built specially for this occasion. Later further additions such as a beautiful gateway, some chambers, a wall and a tank were also made there by Mun'am Khan during the reign of Akbar, and this 'Id Gah is still intact.[5]

Shaikh Sultan Mahmud Mosque

Shaikh Sultan Mahmud, one of the grandees of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, built this masjid in muhalla Shaikhuwarah. It had three great domes which have now disappeared along with the walls. The back wall and the great gateway alone remain to remind us of its past grandeur.[6]

Qadam Rasul Mosque[7]

This mosque stands between the shrines of Khwaja Abul Fath

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 53.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 57.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 55-60.

[4] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 247. It stands on the Allahabad road.

[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 56-58.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

and Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal. There lies a very interesting reason behind its erection at this place, which has been mentioned in detail by Khair-u'd-din Muhammad. Khair-u'd-din mentions that at this spot saint Abul Fath once saw standing the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). To commemorate that spot, the saint and his friend Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal, erected a mosque there. Afterwards this mosque fell in owing, to the ravages of time, but was later restored.[1]

(B) *Minor Mosques of the Sharqis Outside the city of Jaunpur*

Apart from the royal mosques and other mosques of the city of Jaunpur, the Sharqi rulers, who had great religious zeal, erected mosques from time to time in different parts of their kingdom. Most of these, which commemorated their faith and name for centuries, are now in ruins because of the ravages of time. The very few which have survived are mentioned here.

Mosques of Thulandi[2]

There are two stone mosques in the village of Thulandi in the modern district of Rai Bareilly. They were built by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in 820/1417 and are still intact and make a picturesque scene in that flat country.[3] A ruined mud fort of the same ruler also exists there.[4]

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 86-87. Khair-u'd-din Muhammad relates that Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal was a very handsome man and had long attractive hair in his youth, which gained him many admirers. One morning when he got up, he found his hair smelling, which made him suspect that probably one of his female admirers had put some scent on it, which he did not approve of from the point of view of piety, so he decided to cut his hair off, and called for his barber. The latter had cut off very little of his hair when saint Abul Fath Sombras suddenly appeared and shouted to him, saying "Here standing near you is the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). He is commanding you not to do this." This alarmed Sayyid Ajmal with the result that he got up and asked the celebrated saint to point out to him the spot where the Holy Prophet had stood. When both the saints actually found the impression of the Holy feet, they erected there a room with their own hands to preserve the spot. Later a platform was raised, and finally this event was commorated by a fine mosque with a beautiful dome.

[2] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 319.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

Mosque of Dhopap[1]

Dhopap is a village situated on the right bank of the Gumti, near the fort of Gharah or Shergarh in tehsil Qazipur in the modern district of Sultanpur in Awadh.[2] This village once used to be a famous town and still has some old Hindu and Muslim monuments. It has always been a place of pilgrimage for Hindus. The Sharqis out of religious zeal found it necessary to erect a mosque which still stands there, having three domes at present instead of the five which were originaly built.[3] The only inscription which still remains there, engraved on a black stone in large letters, is *Kalimah,* which has been arranged in the same way as that of the gold coins of the Sharqi Kings.[4]

Jami' Mosque, Rai Bareilly[5]

It was built by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[6] It was later repaired by Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir in 1098/1686-87, as has been commemorated in an Arabic inscription.[7] It is still intact, though not in a good condition.

Jami' Mosque, Ja'is[8]

Ja'is is an old town in the district of Rai Bareilly.[9] Sultan Ibrahim found here a ruined temple and its scattered material and made up his mind to erect this Jami' Mosque, which crowns a hill.[10] Close by stands the *Dargah* of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, who shut himself up in a cell here for forty days for

[1] *Monumental Antiquities,* II: 326-27.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 326.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 327.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 325. See Appendix A, "The Gold Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans."

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 323.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

his *Chilla.*[1] There is also a village by the name of the same celebrated saint, which is called Ashrafpur, and which is only three miles south of Ja'is.[2] Four miles south-east of Ja'is is the fort of Nasirabad, which Sultan Ibrahim built there in the name of his son.[3]

Jami' Mosque, Machhlishahr

Machhlishahr lies eighteen miles south-west of Jaunpur and is the headquarters of a tehsil of the same district.[4] It reflects the religious zeal of the Sharqis, for the ruins of some seventeen mosques built by them still lie scattered there. Of these a Jami' Mosque which Sultan Husain Sharqi built, still stands in a good condition.[5] It appears that this place had been a great centre of the *Shi'a* sect as well. A *Karbala* built by Shaikh Muhammad Karim in the thirteenth century and an 'Id Gah built by Muhammad Manzali in the sixteenth century still exist there.[6]

Mosques of Bihar

After his consolidation of the province of Bihar, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi built there several mosques; he also appointed some *Muftis* to propagate Islam. The earliest mosque was built in 1443 under the supervision of Sayyid Ajmal.[7] The inscription of this mosque also denotes the name of Nasir Ibn-i-Baha, then the *Muqti* of Bihar, appointed by Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. There have also been found two other congregational mosques built by the same ruler, one of which is at Paharpur.[8] This mosque is still intact and its inscription, which gives its date of erection 1455 and was engraved by one Hazrat Ahmad Balkhi Langar Darya, is

[1] *Monumental Antiquities,* II: 323-24.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 324.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 185.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Bihar Through the Ages,* p. 394.
[8] *Ibid.*

still legible. Both the mosques are strong and handsome edifices.[1]

The Sharqi Sultans might have built some mosques at Zafarabad which were quite close to Jaunpur and at other places such as Dalmau, Tirhut, Chunar, Orissa and Bihar, but we do not find any reference to them.

SECTION IV

Palaces of the Sharqi Kings and Queens

Badi' Manzil

After his arrival at Jaunpur Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar soon discovered a beautiful site, where in the past Raja Vijaya Chandra's palace of Kankar blocks (small rubbles) had once stood. This palace had been on the south side of the main road opposite the Hauz-i-Khas. He raised there a new building with the material of the old palace and named it Badi' Manzil.[2] This new palace was grand in appearance and was decorated with mosaic work. It continued to be used by the second ruler, Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi, as well as by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.

Chihal Situn Mahal

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who was the most cultured ruler of the Sharqi dynasty, made up his mind to change his residence and build a new palace. It took a long time to be built up. The author of *Subh-i-Sadiq* mentions that when this palace was on the verge of completion, he one night overheard the labourers talking, one saying to the other: "The palace of the Sultan (Ibrahim Sharqi) is practically finished and now there will be no need of workers. Where shall we get our means of subsistence from?" Next day the Sultan ordered the edifice to be dismantled. The foundations of the building were laid afresh.[3] After very prolonged labour the

[1] *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 393-94. Another mosque at Darbhanga built by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in 1402 also exists.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 5. *D. G. Jaunour*, p. 246. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 36.

[3] Subh-i-Sadiq: *Vide* Sayyid Hasan Askari, *Proceedings of the Historical Congress, 23rd Congress*, Aligarh, Part I, 1960, p. 35.

new palace came into being, and was named Chihal Situn Mahal, (the Palace of Forty Pillars).[1] It had three grand storeys and was an architectural masterpiece, where Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi spent his whole life in social and cultural activities.[2]

Mahal Bibi Raji[3]

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's beloved queen, the Sayyid princess of Delhi, made up her mind to have a new residence. Accustomed to the comfort of the palace of Delhi, she did not find her father-in-law's palace to her taste. She was deeply religious and her acts of piety have been recorded in the pages of Sharqi history. She built quite a few mosques among which Lal Darwazah Mosque predominates on account of many novel ideas such as the Zanana galleries. She ordered the erection of a new palace, the remains of which still stand near the Jami' Mosque, Jaunpur.[4] This beautiful palace, known as Bibi Raji Mahal, was oblong in shape and covered an area of 190 feet in length and 140 feet in width.[5] It had round turrets at the corners.[6] Sultan Sikandar Lodi's vengeance did not spare it and like other palaces it was pulled down.[7] Afterwards it was partially repaired by 'Umar Khan, the great-grandson of Sultan Husain Sharqi, and was used for centuries by the descendants of the ruling house. Nothing now exists there except the ruins denoting its past grandeur.[8]

Mahal Bibi Ladli[9]

Queen Bibi Raji also laid the foundations of another palace in the name of her beloved daughter, Bibi Ladli, on the banks of a

[1] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 238.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 243.
[4] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 246.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 52.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[9] A. Fuhrer, I: 9-10.

stream outside Jaunpur, which still flows between Karanja and Jaunpur. The building was still in its primary stages when the long war broke out between Husain Sharqi and Bahlul Lodi and thus it could not be completed. Bibi Raji also built there a bridge, a few residential quarters, and a beautiful mosque, and named it Mosque Bibi Raji, which still exists.[1] But the rest of the places, *i.e.*, the bridge, residential quarters as well as the foundations of the Bibi Raji Palace, were all destroyed by the ruthless hands of Sikandar Lodi.[2] Nothing now exists there except the ruins, which still convey an impression of the grandeur which was once an object of great pride.

Roshan Mahal and Janat Mahal

There were two other palaces, one known as Janat Mahal (the Palace of Heaven) adjacent to Badi' Manzil, and the other Roshan Mahal (the Palace of Lights) situated to the west of the Hauz-i-Khas. Both the palaces were completely destroyed by Sikandar Lodi. Nothing is known about them in detail, and only their ruins remind us of their past grandeur.

SECTION V

The Sharqi Tombs and Shrines

The Sharqi Sultans, enthusiastic builders and fine architects that they were, also built their royal tombs, which still stand in Jaunpur (except that of Sultan Muhammad Sharqi, which is in Dalmau). They also built tombs and shrines for famous saints and scholars who rose to eminence under their patronage. These tombs originally consisted of a room, roofed with a fine dome, with an enclosing *baradari* and a courtyard, or simply a dome supported by pillars on a stone platform. They were decorated with glazed bricks or mosaic work as well with Quranic verses and Persian inscriptions recording the name of the buried

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 76.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 9-10 and 13.

one and the year of his death. They were surrounded by green parks, which have now mostly disappeared. Also cultivable land was allotted as *Waqf* to their caretakers. The ruthless hand of Sikandar Lodi did not spare the Sharqi royal tombs and destroyed their domes and inscriptions.[1] But even what remains is sufficient to prove their faith, regard and love of piety, which was always reflected in the simplicity of their design. The tombs and shrines that survived Sikandar Lodi's demolition and the devastation of time are very few, and in a broken condition.

(A) *Royal Tombs*

The Tombs of the Seven Kings (*Jaunpur*)

About five hundred yards from the Atala Mosque is a place commonly known as "The Tombs of the Seven Kings."[2] The persons buried there include Shahzadah Nasir Khan Malik Bahruz, the younger son of Sultan Firuz Shah and the first governor of Jaunpur and Zafarabad. Among the Sharqi Sultans here we have the tombs of Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, his adopted son, Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi, Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and his queen.[3] These tombs once stood in a large park and were originally covered with grand domes decorated with glazed bricks, which were pulled down by Sikandar Lodi.[4] The tombs originally were built on stone platforms, which are also now in a completely dilapidated condition.[5] The lane leading off the main thoroughfare which separates Muhalla Dhalgar from Muhalla Machhihatta leads to this spot.[6]

[1] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 246.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46, is mistaken in mentioning that Mahmud Sharqi is also buried here. The latter along with his wife is buried at a different place. See A. Fuhrer, I: 63.

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, pp. 245-46.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

The Tomb of Shahzadah Ibrahim (Jaunpur)

Near Sayyid Ajmal's shrine in Muhalla Sipah of Jaunpur stands the tomb of one un-named son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[1] He was a disciple of Sayyid Ajmal and was buried there at his preceptor's feet according to his own wish.[2] The grave of the prince is situated under a large and beautiful domed *baradari*, which like its supporting pillars is built of stone.[3] Around this building there is a big graveyard and the cultivated land north of it also belongs to it, the income of which goes to its caretaker.[4]

The Tomb of Queen Bibi Raji, Consort of Sultan Mahmud (Jaunpur)

Once a noble mausoleum, it has now only two graves covered with slabs.[5]

The Tomb of Sultan Muhammad Sharqi (Dalmau)

This is the only royal Sharqi tomb which was built outside the city of Jaunpur. Dalmau was a very important town where Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi not only built a fort but also a beautiful garden with a stone and brick well on the banks of the river Ganges, which lies one mile south-east of this town.[6] Sultan Muhammad Sharqi, in a battle against his brother Husain Sharqi, was killed here and was also buried here.[7] This tomb raised on a terrace stands in the garden of Mukanpur, it is a simple edifice of no attraction.[8]

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 90.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 63. The other grave is that of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. There is another grave at the foot of the marble sculpture, which A. Fuhrer is mistaken in describing as that of Husain Sharqi. The latter is buried near the north gate of the Atala Mosque. See *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 245. That grave is perhaps of another prince.

[6] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

Tombs of Later Sharqis (Jaunpur)

Near the north gate of the Atala Mosque there is a paved court, where a number of insignificant tombs stand. This place is known as *Khanqah* and is said to be the burial place of the Sharqi Kings. These tombs are not of the early kinds but only of the last ruler, Husain Shah Sharqi and his descendants.[1] Though Husain died at Colgong, he was buried here in accordance with his wishes. One of these tombs is that of Husain Sharqi's son, Mahmud, who fought as a military general on behalf of Emperor Humayun against Sher Shah Suri in 1540, but was killed in the campaign at Qannauj and was buried here.[2] Mahmud's son, 'Umar Khan, the latter's son, Sultan Husain, Qutb Khan, son of Sultan Husain, Hasan Khan, son of Qutb, and his sons, Mahmud and Muhammad, are also buried here.[3] After that the genealogy becomes confused, and thus we do not know to whom the rest of the tombs belong, as their inscriptions are not discernable now. The small domes on their supporting pillars have disappeared and their broken inscriptions are difficult to read. Also the large green park in which these tombs once stood has disappeared.

(B) *Other Tombs and Shrines*

Shrine of Sulaiman Shah (Jaunpur)

Sulaiman Shah, a well-known saint of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi's time, died in 1462 and was buried in Jaunpur.[4] His shrine stands on the western side of the present district Jail of Jaunpur and the place is known as the *Dargah* of Sulaiman Shah.[5] This *Dargah* was built by Queen Bibi Raji under her personal supervision. It stands on a raised podium of about 65 feet square and

[1] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 246.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 14. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 21.

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 246.

[4] A. Fuhrer, I: 61-62. *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 248. It is now situated within the Jail Compound.

[5] A. Fuhrer, I: 62.

is built of bricks and coated with cement.[1] The building is square and roofed by a dome. The exterior measures 44′-6″ by 44′-6″ whilst the interior measures 29′ by 29 feet.[2] Its sides are pierced by three arched openings, of which the central one in each case is a little larger. The soffits of its entrance are half-domed and panelled.[3] Yet its angles are emphasized by slender octagonal columns right from the plinth to the top.[4] The walls inside are plain though relieved by niches and decorated with glazed tile work.[5] The principal and most attractive feature in this building is its dome. The cupola of the dome is beautifully ornamented in colour, traces of which are still seen.[6] There is a Persian inscription in verse which denotes the year of Sulaiman Shah's death, and goes like this,

"Sulaiman Shah bud maqbul Dawar
Na-shud ou ra kasi dar faqr hamsar
Zi-tarikhash shumar do lam har bar
Bego se martabe Allahu Akbar"[7]

Translation:

"Sulaiman Shah was the chosen of God;
None rivalled him in asceticism;
To find his date, reckon double Lam every time,
Repeat thrice, 'God is Great' (867/1462)."

This place is very popular among the local inhabitants, who often pay a visit to the holy shrine especially on Thursday nights.

[1] A. Fuhrer, I: 62.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

Shrine of Khwaja Abul Fath Sombras (Jaunpur)

Khwaja Abul Fath Sombras was a renowned saint of Sultan Ibrahim's time and the latter had great regard for this holy saint. He died in Jaunpur and was buried there, where his tomb was erected by the said Sultan and still stands in the Muhalla Sipah of this town.[1] The garden that once enclosed this building is now desolate; the garden wall still exists though in a broken condition.[2] To the north of the main edifice stands another small chamber, built of stones, perhaps for its caretaker, but now in a bad condition. This shrine is regarded with great respect by the local inhabitants, who light lamps here on Thursday evenings.

Shrine of Shah Madar (Makanpur)

Shah Madar, the renowned saint of India, was a native of Halb, Syria, who came to Makanpur, a village in the present district of Kanpur, in 818/1415, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and settled down there.[3] Sultan Ibrahim had a great regard for this saint and after his death erected a tomb on his grave to commemorate him.[4] This shrine is situated on the banks of the river Isan. The original tomb has a plain building of 31½ feet square and is covered with a low-roofed dome, which has further been covered with numerous coats of whitewash.[5] The building stands in a courtyard about seventy feet square and is known as *haram*, where no women are allowed, no food is cooked, no lamps are lighted and no hymns are chanted. There are two gateways to this noble tomb, and as their inscription indicates they belong to a later date. The first is called Chor Ka Darwazah and according to its inscription was built in 873/1468 during the reign of Sultan Husain.[6] The second gate is called

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 90.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Mir'at-i-Madari*, ff. 14-16. *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 169-70.
[4] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 169-70.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

Saudagar Darwazah, *i.e.*, merchant gate, and bears the date 899/1493-94.[1]

Thousands of people every year visit this noble shrine and at the time of *'Urs* (anniversary celebrations) people from all over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent go there to pay homage.

(C) *Minor Tombs and Shrines*

Apart from these tombs and shrines there are many other edifices such as the shrine of Sayyid Makhdum Saeed Ja'fri of Jaunpur, which was erected by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. It is situated near the main gateway of Jaunpur fort and is visited by many.[2]

Tombs of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din and his Wife (Jaunpur)

The tomb of the most renowned Qazi and learned scholar of his time, Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, and his wife stands some forty feet from the south gate of the Atala Mosuqe in the compound of the Church Mission High School.[3] It is surrounded by a brick wall 16½ feet square and is 3½ feet high, and contains both their graves.[4]

Shrine of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani (Kichaucha)

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, the well-known saint and scholar who lived in the time of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, was buried at Rasulpur, also known as Kichaucha, fifty miles south-east of Faizabad in the same district.[5] This shrine was under the supervision of the Sharqis and is still a great source of

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 169-70. Apart from *Haram Darbar*, as mentioned above, this shrine has five to six other *Darbars* which have been built there from time to time, such as *Rauza Mubarak*, the courtyard which surrounds the tomb itself, *Sankar Darbar*, *Pakar Darbar*, and *Damal Khana*. Emperor Aurangzeb paid visit to this place and adorned it with a beautiful mosque which stands adjacent to it and is known as 'Alamgiri Mosque. There is another mosque of a later date, *i.e.*, 1022/1611, built by Daulat Khan.

[2] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 325.

[3] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 241. *Tazkirah*, p. 89.

[4] *D. G. Jaunpur*, p. 241.

[5] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320-21.

attraction for hundreds and thousands of people who visit it every year.[1]

Shrine of Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal (*Jaunpur*)

Sayyid Ajmal, a contemporary of the holy saint Abu'l Fath, was also a saint of great reputation and had been the prime minister of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[2] After his death the cultured king, *i.e.*, Ibrahim Sharqi, honoured his grave with a grand tomb to which some additions were made later on.[3] His grave proper was at first built of hard stone, and later on faced with marble.[4] Local inhabitants venerate this place and often visit it to pay homage.

(D) *Tombs and Shrines of Zafarabad*

There are many shrines and tombs of the Muslim period scattered in and outside Zafarabad. Of those the following are important and belong to the Sharqi period.

Shrine and Tombs of Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din and Other Members of His Family

The renowned saint, Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind*, who migrated from Multan to Zafarabad to propagate Islam in that part of the country, died (795/1392-93) and was buried at Zafarabad.[5] His shrine was built by Zafar Khạn.[6] Facing its doorway, stand the tombs of his (*Chiragh-i-Hind's*) wife and a son.[7] To the west of this shrine is another tomb of his son Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din.[8] On the east side of the latter's tomb

[1] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 320-21.

[2] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 89-90. He was also a contemporary of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 89-90.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, pp. 12-14. This shrine lies in Muhalla Shaikhuwarah of Zafarabad.

[6] *D. G. India*, p. 333.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

lies the tomb of his (Rukn-u'd-din's) wife, who was the daughter of Malik Bhua, wazir of Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I.[1] To the south side of the said shrine lies the tomb of Zafar Khan (first Muslim governor of Zafarabad), and nearby the latter's tomb stands the tomb of his sister, another wife of Makhdum *Chiragh-i-Hind.*[2]

The Tomb of Maulana Bahram

Maulana Bahram, a great scholar and saint, was appointed Imam of the Jami' Mosque (also known as Mosque Shaikh Barah), Zafarabad, by Zafar Khan.[3] He was also a disciple of Makhdum *Chiragh-i-Hind.*[4] He died in 829/1425-26 and was buried near the Jami' Mosque, where his tomb, a very simple edifice, still exists.[5]

Tombs of Sayyid Murtza and his Wife

The tomb of Sayyid Murtza, son of Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind*, and his wife, a daughter of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, stands in Zafarabad. It is a squat building, supported by twelve pillars, and which, including bracketed capitals, measured 7′-7″ in height. It was very seriously affected by floods of the Gumti (1874) and is now in a dilapidated condition.[6]

Shrine of Makhdum Qiyam-u'd-din Suhrawardi

He was a renowned scholar and saint (a disciple of Makhdum *Chiragh-i-Hind*) of his time.[7] He died in 817/1414 and was buried in Zafarabad, where his tomb near the bank of the river Gumti still stands though in a dilapidated condition.[8]

[1] *D. G. India*, p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

[5] *Ibid.* A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, December, 1963, p. 105.

[6] *D. G. India*, p. 331.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 333. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, pp. 14-15.

[8] *D. G. India*, p. 333.

Shrine of Bandagi Jalal-u'l-Haqq Qazi Khan Nasihi

Makhdum Jalal-u'l-Haqq Qazi Khan Nasihi Zafarabadi was a grandson of 'Imad-u'l-Mulk, wazir of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[1] He was a renowned saint of his time, who enjoyed a very long life (died 944/1537).[2] Emperor Humayun had great faith in him and tried to seek an interview, but the saint refused.[3] His shrine stands near the north-west corner of the old fort of Zafarabad.[4] The building of the shrine is surrounded by a wall and the place is revered by the local people.[5]

Section VI

Public Works and Irrigation

The Sharqis were, by the standards of their age, good rulers. Direct evidence of their social activities is lacking, but there is some architectural evidence to show their interest in public welfare. Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar came on the scene at a difficult time, but Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* writes that within a few years he restored peace in his dominion and soon prosperity returned to the country, which had suffered from famine for many years.[6] It means that he took good care of the cultivators and provided them with facilities. The only solid proof we have is an inscription on a loose slab, not attached to any building, which was found in the modern district of Bada'un.[7]

Canals:

This inscription records the date of the construction of a canal in 798/1395-96.[8] It is reasonable to presume that this was not

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[4] *D. G. of India*, p. 334.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Tabaqat*, III: 273.
[7] *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 23.
[8] *Ibid.*

the only canal built by Sultan-ush-Sharq and his successors.

Bridges:

In the same way we find mention of some of the bridges built by the Sharqis for the welfare of their subjects. The city of Jaunpur, as has been mentioned before, is situated on the Gumti river and the whole area around it has many small streams. As the Sharqis were always leading military expeditions, it may be reasonably inferred that they would have constructed many bridges to facilitate the movement of their troops. Evidence has survived of only two bridges: one the bridge over the stream of Ladlipur built by Queen Bibi Raji and the other on the Gumti near Jaunpur about one mile to the west. Though this bridge was finally erected in 972/1564 by Mun'im Khan Khan-i-Khanan, its foundations had originally been laid by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[1] For the rest, what might have survived Sikandar Lodi's vengeance, has been taken care of by the ravages of time and floods.

Gardens and Wells:

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi built a beautiful garden near the village of Makanpur, on the banks of the river Ganges, where at the same time a stone and brick well was also constructed.[2] This garden and well still exist, where now stands the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi.[3]

Cities (Founded and Restored):

Though Sultan Husain Sharqi spent most of his reign in fighting against his formidable enemies, the Lodis, yet he found time for cultural activities. He was deeply interested in architecture, music and painting, and earned a high reputation in all. Husain, who built beautiful mosques in different parts of his kingdom, also rebuilt and founded old and new cities. He

[1] *Jaunpur Nama,* p. 60. Here still exist one mosque and a hammam of Mun'am Khan Khan-i-Khanan's time.

[2] *Monumental Antiquities,* II: 320.

[3] *Ibid.*

rebuilt the city of Rai Bareilly and renamed it Husainabad, but this name did not last long.[1] He laid the foundations of the new city of Husainabad, which he could not complete because of his numerous campaigns against Bahlul. This place is a village now, and still commemorates his name, *i.e.,* Husainabad, in the pargana Kharid of tehsil Bansdih twelve miles north-east of the district town of Ballia.[2]

Tanks:

In this village a tank of his time which he constructed for the use of the local inhabitants still exists.[3]

Section VII

Achievements of Sharqi Architecture

Brown remarks that the Sharqi rule was a period of great architectural activity, and the architecture created at Jaunpur exercised great influence on the architectural achievements of other places.[4] Brown further remarks that if only Sikandar Lodi had not ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the Sharqi rulers, their buildings would have produced a provincial manifestation of Indian Islamic architecture of more than ordinary interest.[5] The buildings which have survived mainly comprise mosques, tombs and shrines, as well as dismantled palaces and forts. Of these the building which is most characteristic in style is the Atala Mosque. This is the earliest example of Jaunpur Mosque architecture and in its freshness and vigour of style thoroughly expresses the stimulating intellectual influences by which it was surrounded. Indeed it furnished the model for all Jaunpur mosques, though none excelled it. The last example of the architectural style of the Sharqis to be cited is the Jami'

[1] *D. G. A'zamgarh*, p. 159.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[4] P. Brown, p. 44.
[5] *Ibid.*

Mosque, which was built by Sultan Husain, and with that their building career came to an end. The Atala Mosque as compared with the Jami' Mosque is an architectural gem of the Sharqis, while the latter betrays signs of decadence in its depth of recesses and projections and in the treatment of the great propylon. The crying imperfection in the Jami' Mosque is its front elevation. This disjointed and unfinished structure, bold and daring in its original conception, could not be a success. Here it seems as if the Jaunpur architects' aesthetic sense failed them. It is also because, while the construction of the Jami' Mosque was taking place, the kingdom of Jaunpur was passing through a severe political crisis. At the same time the long famine had upset the whole economy.[1]

Of the pre-Sharqi period there is only one mosque: Shaikh Barah's Mosque at Zafarabad, built in 1311. It consists of a large hypostyle hall of 65 feet with sides and a flat roof of 20 feet in height, composed of stone beams supported by more than sixty pillars. The building, solidly constructed, has a crude appearance and there is very little to attract the eye. Yet, comparing it with the Sharqi mosques, one feels that it is quite possible that the bulky nature of its frontal portion, some ten feet thick, influenced the Sharqi architects in their basic ideas for the construction of the propylons of their facades, which finally became their outstanding characteristic.[2] In the same way some of the distinctive features in the Jaunpur style such as battered walls, posted lintel galleries, domed pinnacles and decorative arch soffits are all clearly traceable in the architecture of Firuz Shah.[3] The transept hall of the Jami' Mosque, the roof of which is supported by stone lintels, and its final formation, which is unique in Indian architecture, also reflect some glimpses of the Adina

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 46.

[2] P. Brown, p. 43. Shanti Swarup, p. 66. E. B. Havell is mistaken in saying that in designing the facade the Sharqis were impressed by the Hindu temple, Gopu Ram.

[3] John Terry, p. 12.

Mosque of Pandua, built by Sikandar Shah of Bengal (1358-89) about one hundred years earlier.[1] But Sharqi engineers assimilated these strains into a distinctive building style of their own.

Though the architecture of the Sharqis may look coarse in character, yet it is bold, strong, purposeful and sincere. One also finds some signs of delicate elegance in the traceried pattern in the window openings, arches, and perforated screens, especially in the Atala Mosque. The contributing factors which give a special and individual architectural character to the Sharqi buildings were first of all due to the length of association of this province with Delhi, as has been mentioned before; secondly the prevalence of an already developed indigenous art; and, finally, their contact with the foreign craftsmen. The climatic conditions also helped them by necessitating special treatment, and above all the availability of the material was a great help.

Comparing the Sharqi architecture with the style of contemporary Delhi where the Sayyids and Lodis were ruling, we find only a few specimens of tombs, such as the tomb of Mubarak Shah (1421-34) at Delhi and those of 'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah (1434-45) and his family at Bada'un.[2] These tombs are open pavilions surrounded by walls and have no great architectural magnificence or merit. There we find only such new features as the use of the blue enamelled tiling, the elaborate treatment of the surface and the use of the lotus finials over the domes.[3] But Jaunpur builders, who produced such a large number of mosques, palaces, forts, tombs, and shrines, manifested in these individual architectural features. The fresh and unique character of the Jaunpur mosques lies in their pylons which form the east front of their liwans. They remind us of the pylons of Egypt.

[1] P. Brown, p. 46. Outside Jaunpur the only example comparable to the Sharqi stone lintel is that of the Begum Puri Mosque of Johanpanah under the later Tughluqs. See John Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[2] A. Cunningham, "*Archaeological Survey of India*," (Gangetic Provinces-Bada'un to Bihar), Calcutta, 1880, p. 102.

[3] Shanti Swarup, pp. 64-65.

These Jaunpur portals are already the forerunners of the great Mughul gateways, of which the Buland Darwazah of Fathpur Sikri is the most outstanding.[1] The chambers of the Jami' Mosque which have been roofed by stone vaults on a very large scale are unique. These are also forerunners of the ingenious stone-roofed buildings of Akbar.[2] This further proves the highly skilled craftsmanship of the Jaunpur builders, who had such a lively imagination. Again one finds the same influence in the Govind Dev Temple at Mathura which was built in 1590, the roof of which is a true voussoir vault, unlike that of the Jami' Mosque of Jaunpur.[3] Further, the Sharqi style also exercised some influence on the architectural productions of some other places, as may be seen in the Arhai Kanjura Mosque of Banaras and the Jami' Mosques in the towns of Etawah and Qannauj.[4]

[1] John Terry, p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] P. Brown, p. 47.

CHAPTER VII

Cultural Activities under the Sharqis

Introduction

The Sharqi monarchy is renowned for its cultural and artistic contributions to India of the Middle Ages. The anarchy caused by Timur's invasion uprooted scholars and divines and they found no better place than Jaunpur. The bounty of enlightened sovereigns such as Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi attracted scholars and divines, not only from Delhi and other parts of India but also from foreign lands such as Syria and Persia. Like Lucknow three centuries later, Jaunpur became the refuge of men of learning from Delhi and elsewhere and, appropriately enough, came to be called *Dar-ul-Aman*, ("The Abode of Peace").

Here flourished scholars such as Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, whom Sultan Ibrahim entitled Malik-u'l-'Ulama and whom Abul Fazl mentions as a man famous for his wisdom and learning. In the same way there flourished many others among whom the most famous were Maulana Ilah Dad, Khwaja Abul Fath,

Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Gunbadi, Maulana Sharif-u'd-din and Maulana Sama'-u'd-din Kamboh and their students who carried on their traditions and increased the fame of Jaunpur. Both Arabic and Persian served as vehicle of literary activity at Jaunpur. The subjects which specially received the attention of Jaunpur scholars were *Tafsir* (commentary on the holy Quran), *Hadis* (traditions and sayings related to the Prophet Muhammad, his companions and successors) and *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). In fact, no contemporary scholars in other parts of India can be compared with them and most of their works are considered to be authoritative. Thus for many years Jaunpur outshone in brilliance the imperial city of Delhi as well as other provincial centres of the period.

All the Sharqi rulers and their imperial consorts encouraged education and established *madrasas* where different subjects were taught and facilities were provided for students. They did not neglect the education of women and Bibi Raji, the famous queen of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, built many schools and colleges for the education of women in different parts of the kingdom of Jaunpur.[1] Thus Jaunpur enjoyed the reputation of a celebrated university centre. Even during the time of Muhammad Shah (1719-20), the Mughul ruler, there existed twenty famous schools in Jaunpur.[2] The number would have been much larger in our period, when Jaunpur was at the zenith of its fame. It is said that when Emperor Humayun visited the court of Shah Tahmasp of Iran the first thing the Shah asked him was: "How are the scholars and divines of Jaunpur?"[3] Emperor Humayun had great regard for the achievements of Jaunpur in the fields of art and architecture and had even tried to restore the monuments partially destroyed by Sikandar Lodi.[4]

[1] *Muslim Khawatin Ki Ta'lim*, p. 36.

[2] A. Fuhrer, I: 22.

[3] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

His great-grandson, Shah Jahan, in turn called Jaunpur the Shiraz of India, because of its literary and artistic achievements.[1] The tradition of cultural pursuits and literary activities still survives in and around Jaunpur in various centres such as Chirya Kot, Sara-i-Mir, and A'zam Garh.[2]

The Sharqi rulers were equally liberal towards their Hindu subjects, who enjoyed all the necessary civil and religious rights. They confirmed the local Rajas on their thrones.[3] The freedom which the Hindus enjoyed in Jaunpur and elsewhere was, in our view, certainly one of the factors which enabled Hinduism to throw up the reformist movement known as Bhakti. The leaders of Bhakti preached and wrote in local dialects which both directly and indirectly enriched Hindi literary activities. Apart from Vidyapati, the literary genius of Hindi literature, there were many others such as Kabir and his followers who attained fame in this respect. Among the Muslims the name of Shaikh Qutban, a court poet of Husain Sharqi, is very prominent in this respect.[4]

At the same time the fine arts flourished. The name of Sultan Husain Sharqi again stands pre-eminent in this respect. He patronized painting and music. He himself was a skilled painter[5] as well as the greatest musician of Medieval India after Amir Khusrau of Delhi.[6]

Sources for the cultural activities of this period are scattered and provide only scanty information. Arabic and Persian literary activities have been described in the biographies of the 'Ulama.

[1] *Ab-i-Kausar*, p. 508.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

[3] *Kirti Lata*, pp. 14-18.

[4] For details about the development of Hindi literature under the Sharqis, see Section I (D) of this Chapter.

[5] Moti Chandra, p. 38.

[6] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, p. 511. For details concerning music and painting see Section II (A and B) of this Chapter.

SECTION I

Literature under the Sharqis

(A) *Arabic and Persian Scholars of Zafarabad*

Mulla Nizam-u'd-din 'Allami

He belonged to a Sayyid family. Equally at home in esoteric and exoteric branches of learning, he was considered an authority on *Hadis* and was entitled *Zubadat-u'l-Muhaddisin* by his contemporaries.[1] He was also an authority on *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *Usul* (fundamental sciences).[2] In the early part of his life he followed the teaching profession, and hundreds of students profited from his instruction.[3] In later years he absorbed himself in mysticism, and accepted the discipleship of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.[4] Afterwards he completed his spiritual discipleship with Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind* and also received from him *khirqah-i-khilafat* (mantle of spirituality).[5] He later on accompanied *Aftab-i-Hind* to Zafarabad where he lived in Muhalla Sayyidwarah.[6] Apart from being a great scholar he was also a prolific writer in both Arabic and Persian. His famous work in Arabic is *Zad-u'l-Sulha* and in Persian *Zad-u'l-Salikin*. He was a renowned poet of his time as well, and composed poetry of considerable merit.[7] He died at Zafarabad in 835/1431.[8]

Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Abi Muhammad

He was born in 734/1333 in Madina and was the second son

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 22.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 23, mentions his year of death as 735/1334 which seems, to be a printing mistake, as it does not correspond with the rest of the circumstances of Mulla Nizam-u'd-din 'Allami's life.

of Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind.*[1] He was one of the most learned scholars and sufis of his time, deeply cultured and highly respected by all.[2] He was a pupil of his own father, who taught him Arabic grammar, *Fiqh, Mantiq* (Logic) and *Tafsir* (commentary on the holy Quran).[3] Afterwards his father handed him over to Mulla Qiyam-u'd-din Zafarabadi, under whom he finally completed his studies.[4] He also studied *Hadis* under Mulla Nizam-u'd-din 'Allami Zafarabadi and received a certificate as a learned *Muhaddis* of one thousand and forty *Hadis.*[5] He was considered to be one of the most learned scholars of Zafarabad. His main profession was teaching and he taught thousands who further continued his tradition at various centres.[6] He had also obtained *khirqah-i-khilafat* from his father and after his death succeeded to his *gaddi.*[7] He was a student of theology as well as of the spiritual disciplines and contributed to the latter, clearing up many of its problems.[8] He spent his later years in practising and teaching the spiritual disciplines and was often seen in spiritual ecstasy.[9] He died in 826/1422-23 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and was buried in Zafarabad near the tomb of his respected father.[10]

Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din Abul-Gha'ib

He was born in 802/1399-1400 and was the son of Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Abi Muhammad.[11] His father taught him Arabic and Persian till he was fifteen.[12] He completed his education under

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

the supervision of *Malik-u'l-'Ulama* Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi. He was a gentle, intelligent and hardworking student, who mastered all the subjects within a few years, and was placed among the chief and most reputed students of the celebrated Qazi.[1] Apart from being a learned scholar, he also committed to his memory the holy Quran,[2] and went to Mecca on pilgrimage as well.[3] Spiritually he was a disciple of his father, who taught him different mystic disciplines, and finally he received *khirqah-i-khilafat* of the Suhrawardiya Order.[4] He succeeded to his father's *gaddi* on the latter's death. He taught different subjects to many students and also trained them in matters of spirituality.[5] He also came into contact with Shah Badi'-u'd-din Madar, who effected a great change in him, with the result that he left all his worldly affairs and shut himself in a prayer-cell.[6] He died in 869/1464-65, during the reign of Sultan Husain Sharqi.[7]

Qazi Taj-u'd-din Nasihi

He was descended from the family of Sultan Ibrahim bin Adham, of Balkh, and from there had migrated to Delhi.[8] Qazi Taj-u'd-din was an accomplished scholar and a follower of the esoteric path.[9] He committed to memory the holy Quran and was also an accomplished elocutionist.[10] After completing his studies he taught for many years.[11] Later on he showed great interest in mysticism, accepted the discipleship of Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind*, and is said to have obtained the highest spiritual

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: pp. 11-12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

bliss.[1] He came to Zafarabad to take part in a holy war in the company of his Shaikh, *i.e.*, Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind*. Afterwards he lived there, and the place of his residence became known as Muhalla Nasihi.[2] He was appointed to the post of Qazi of Zafarabad, where he died in 831/1427 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[3] He left many capable students who continued his traditions, and some of his descendants such as Makhdum Bandagi Jalal-u'd-din Haqq Qazi Khan Nasihi were also reputed saints.[4]

Mulla Rukn-u'd-din Yak-Lakhi

He committed to his memory one lakh *Hadis*, for which he was known as Mulla Yak Lakhi.[5] As a follower of Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind*, he had come to Zafarabad.[6] He was a profound scholar of spiritual as well as of temporal knowledge, and was unique in this respect in his time.[7] It is said that his face always shone with spiritual light.[8] He died in Zafarabad in 820/1417 and lies buried by the side of the grave of his *Pir*,[9] (Spiritual guide). His descendants such as Makhdum Qutb-u'd-din *Bina-i-Dil* Jaunpuri, Shaikh Nur Nurpuri, and Shah Fath Qalandar Qalandarpuri also attained fame as saints.[10]

Maulana Sayyid Ya'qub Shami

He was born, brought up, and educated in Syria.[11] He became an accomplished scholar of the exoteric subjects there, excelling

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 21.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

especially in the art of disputation.[1] He became a teacher and taught for a number of years.[2] Afterwards he served in the army for a few years.[3] Then he abruptly decided to quit his job and, leaving Syria, thought of going to India.[4] First he reached Multan, where he paid homage to the shrine of Shaikh-u'l-Islam Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya Multani, and where he also lived some years.[5] Then he moved to Zafarabad where he became a disciple of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind, under whom he completed his esoteric studies.[6] He is said to have attained the highest spiritual bliss and, continuing his Shaikh's traditions, he became a reputed saint and scholar of his time.[7] He died in Zafarabad and was buried near the bank of the Gumti river close to the shrine of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind.[8]

Mulla Shaikh Adam

He was also one of the disciples of Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind* and followed the latter during the holy war of Zafarabad.[9] He was an accomplished scholar of all the esoteric and exoteric subjects and is said to have been the most learned scholar of his time.[10] He also received *khirqah-i-khilafat* from his Shaikh.[11] He spent his whole life in teaching and practising spiritual pursuits and never took any interest in any worldly affairs.[12] He followed the principle of *tawakkul* (absolute dependence on God) and led the life of a saint.[13] He died in 838/1434 during the reign of

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 25.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and was buried quite close to the tomb of Mulla Yak Lakhi.[1]

Maulana Badr-u'd-din

A disciple of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind as well, and a descendant of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, he earned a great reputation as a proficient scholar of *Fiqh, Usul, Tafsir, Mantiq* and *Hadis.*[2] A brilliant teacher, he devoted the rest of his life to teaching, and had numerous students.[3] He led a simple life and is said to have been very generous-minded towards his contemporaries. Whatever he earned he always spent on the needy.[4] He was a follower of the exoteric path. He died in 845/1441 and was buried to the left of the shrine of his Shaikh in Zafarabad.[5]

Maulana Shaikh Bahram

He was also a learned scholar of *Fiqh, Usul, Tafsir* and *Hadis,* but above all was deeply interested in *Ma'qulat* (rational studies).[6] He excelled in *Mantiq* and it is said that, owing to this fact, he became known as Mulla Mantiq Tola.[7] He also committed to memory the holy Quran. He also went on a pilgrimage to Karbala.[8] He spent his early life at Delhi, but when prince Zafar Khan was appointed to Zafarabad, he joined the latter, and was appointed *Khatib* (preacher) of the Jami' Mosque at Zafarabad.[9] It is said that one day as he was delivering a lecture to his students on logic, Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind, while passing that way heard him and, accosting him, observed that Maulana Bahram loved to spend his life in understanding and discussing

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*

the problems of the world, yet had not understood the reason why God had created this world.[1] Maulana Bahram took this reprimand to heart and felt so ashamed that he forsook everything and became a disciple of the Makhdum.[2] Afterwards he never touched his books and spent the rest of his life in praying and practising mystic disciplines.[3] He died during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in 829/1425 and was buried next to the Jami' Mosque where he used to be *Imam* (leader of prayers).[4]

Mulla Husam-u'd-din/Shaikh Baran

He was one of the descendants of Maulana Bahram.[5] A great scholar in divers subjects, he was considered to be the foremost among the learned men of his time.[6] He followed the teaching profession and had numerous students.[7] One day he attended the seminar of Makhdum Taiyib Zafarabadi and was so much affected by his preaching that he at once accepted his discipleship.[8] Afterwards turning his back on the world, he spent most of his time in mystic exercises for which the corner of the Jami' Mosque of Zafar Khan was his favourite place.[9] He is said to have been a saint of great virtues.[10] He died at the age of sixty-three and was buried near the east side of the mosque.[11]

Shah Mas'ud Khalwati

He was one of the renowned scholars of his time.[12] He studied *Fiqh* and other subjects under Maulana Ilah Dad Jaunpuri.[13]

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[13] *Ibid.*

Apart from that he was a disciple of Makhdum Bandagi Jalal-u'l-Haqq Qazi Khan Nasihi Zafarabadi.[1] He is said to have spent twelve years in *Khalwat* (solitude), practising his mystic disciplines, and so came to be known as Khalwati.[2] His shrine stands outside Zafarabad near the village of Ramdas.[3]

(B) *Arabic and Persian Scholars of Jaunpur*

Maulana Sharf-u'd-din Lahori

He was one of the earliest scholars of Jaunpur. He was invited there by Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, who built for him a monastery as well as a *madrasa* near the principal mosque of the city.[4] He is described as the noblest of the noble and a most learned scholar of his time. Apart from being a famous teacher, he was also a prolific writer and composed many standard books such as *Sharh-i-Kafiyah-i-Nahw*, a glossary on *Sharh-i-Azudi*, and a *Hashiya* on *Tafsir-i-Bazdawi*.[5]

He was also a saint of high merit and taught his students the merit of *tawakkul* (absolute dependence on God). But he was never against the acquisition of the bare necessities for a modest subsistence.[6] He always advised his students to adopt a profession as a means of livelihood. He believed that to live righteously in this world for a moment is better than living a thousand years in the next.[7]

Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Gunbadi

He came from a Shaikh family of Delhi, but when Timur invaded Delhi, he migrated to Jaunpur, where the Sharqi rulers honoured him and even appointed him to the post of a Qazi of

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, VII: 2 December, 1963, p. 79.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

Jaunpur.[1] He was a favourite student of Qazi 'Abdul-Muqtadir, the famous scholar and saint of Delhi. Qazi 'Abdul-Muqtadir took a great interest in Qazi Nasir-u'd-din's education and helped him to master all the esoteric and exoteric subjects.[2] He enjoyed a prominent position among contemporary scholars and taught Islamic subjects to many students for a number of years.[3] It is worth mentioning that his contemporary, Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, sent a copy of his celebrated *Kafiyah-i-Nahw* (a book on syntax) for his approval and inclusion in his syllabus and his course of lectures. But Qazi Nasir-u'd-din did not think much of it and returned it, simply remarking that it was well written and did not need any lectures to be delivered on.[4]

Qazi Nasir-u'd-din was a saint of high spiritual powers and had been blessed by saints of different Orders.[5] It is said that in the last years of his life he became entirely absorbed in spiritual pursuits and withdrew himself to a dome (*Gunbad*) outside the city. He expired there, was buried there, and so came to be known as Gunbadi.[6] He possessed no worldly things. In later years he refrained from any dealings with kings and nobles and never liked to accept any presents from them. His disciples in his monastery, it is said, used to keep themselves standing by holding chains lest they might fall because of their physical weakness, owing to starvation.[7] He also wrote many books, but none of them became popular because he had not been able to pay much attention to his writings.[8] He died in 817/1412 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[9]

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176.
[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32. *Tazkirah*, p. 238.
[3] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32.
[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176. *Tazkirah*, p. 238.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32.
[6] *Ibid*. This place is to-day in Muhalla Chachikpur of Jaunpur, near the railway road, but the domes of its tomb have fallen in, owing to the ravages of time. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 32.
[7] *Ibid*. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176. *Tazkirah*, p. 238.
[8] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: p. 33.
[9] *Ibid*.

Malik-u'l-'Ulama Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi

He belonged to a Shaikh family and originally came from Ghazni.[1] He was brought up at Daulatabad in the Deccan, but his education was completed in Delhi under the learned teacher, Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir, the grandfather of the famous saint, Khwaja Abul Fath Sombras Jaunpuri.[2] Qazi Shihab-u'd-din was extremely intelligent and had an excellent memory.[3] His mental powers greatly impressed his teachers. The author of *Tazkirah-i-'Ulama-i-Hind* relates, on the authority of *Manaqib-u'l-Sadiqin,* how a remark by Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir became a turning point in Qazi Shihab-u'd-din's career.[4] After this he was so interested in his education that he became accomplished in all esoteric as well as exoteric subjects at quite an early age.

He was also a disciple of Maulana Khwajgi, in whose suite he travelled while fleeing from Timur's hordes from Delhi. Maulana Khwajgi went to Kalpi, but Qazi Shihab-u'd-din was invited to Jaunpur by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi who appointed him to the post of Chief Qazi of Jaunpur.[5] The Sultan presented him with a silver chair in his *Darbar* (Royal Court) and also honoured him

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 33. *Tazkirah*, pp. 88-89.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 36b. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 33. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 147. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 390, 396. *Tazkirah*, pp. 88-89. Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir was also invited to Jaunpur by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. When he arrived Sultan Ibrahim came to escort him, rode in the rear of the holy man's suite, and helped him dismount from his horse. Afterwards he made the holy man sit on the throne while he stood up along with his nobles. Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir held weekly devotional meetings and is said to have converted a large number of Hindus at each of these prayer meetings. He stayed in Jaunpur for a complete year. Before he left for Delhi he left with the king his son, 'Abdul Wahid. See for details, *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 24. Bada'uni, I: 332.

[3] Once Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir remarked that he had a student whose mind, body and hair were made of knowledge and he was Shihab-u'd-din. See *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 141.

[4] It is mentioned that once he found some gold in his childhood and suggested to his mother to hide it in some grave. When he went to his teacher, Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir, the latter looked at his face and said that he was anxious to hide the gold in some grave. How would he earn the truth of knowledge? *Tazkirah*, p. 134.

[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 33-34. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 170. *Tazkirah*, p. 88. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 390. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, f. 125b, 126a.

with the title of *Malik-u'l-'Ulama, i.e.*, the Chief of the Learned.[1] He earned here a very high reputation which soon spread to the whole of India, and even to Persia and Arabia. He was, according to Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, the most distinguished scholar of his age.[2] Many of his contemporaries, chief among them the sons of Maulana Ahmad Thanesari, grew jealous of him because of his eminence. Qazi Shihab-u'd-din wrote about his trouble to his revered *Pir*, Maulana Khwajgi at Kalpi, who in reply quoted two couplets of Shaikh Sa'di commending the virtues of silence and forbearance.[3] He also had quarrels with *Sadr-i-Jahan* Sayyid Ajmal of Jaunpur where he (Qazi Shihab-u'd-din) pleaded for the superiority of an '*Alim* (learned scholar) against the one who belonged to the Prophet's family. But later on, taking a hint from a dream in which he saw the holy Prophet in an angry mood, he wrote the *Manaqib-u'l-Sadat* in a mood of repentance, extolling the members of the Prophet's family and claiming for them a privileged position.[4]

Qazi Shihab-u'd-din was also a notable saint. He had received spiritual guidance from his *Pir*, Maulana Khwajgi, and also from Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani.[5] He adhered strictly to the laws of *Shari'a*.[6] He had some unpleasant discussions with Shah Madar, who, though a saint of great spiritual powers, was not particularly mindful of the strict laws of *Shari'a*. Thereafter the two were not on good terms.[7] Khwaja Abul Fath and Maulana Ilah Dad Muhashshi were his contemporaries. With them Qazi Shihab-u'd-din had many theological debates.[8]

[1] *Tazkirah*, p. 88. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 368, 390. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 34.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175. *Studies in Medieval India*, p. 67.

[3] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 142. *Tazkirah*, p. 88. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 34.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176. *Tazkirah*, p. 88. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 391.

[5] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 390. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 35-36.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[7] *Ibid. Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 21.

[8] *Mir'at-ul-Asrar*, f. 457b.

The Qazi was famous as a teacher. Sultan Ibrahim built a special mosque and a madrasa where the Qazi taught hundreds of students.[1] Many of them spread the knowledge of Islamic learning far and wide. Makhdum 'Isa Taj Chishti, the renowned saint of Jaunpur, and Maulana Safi Jaunpuri were also his students. He was an accomplished calligraphist.[2] The Qazi was a poet too who wrote in Arabic as well as in Persian and who composed a *Diwan* (collection of poetry) by the name of *Jami'u'l-Sana'*. He also wrote *Qasa'id* in Arabic and his *Qasidah-i Mu'ariz-al Lamiyah-al-'Azar* is a masterpiece.[3] He was also a prolific writer. He wrote *Sharh-i-Kafiyah, i.e.,* the commentary on the well-known Arabic grammar of Jalal-u'd-din Abu 'Usman bin 'Umar, better known as Ibn-u'l-Hajib (d. 648/1248), also known as *Sharh-i-Hindi.* This book is unique in its style and became famous in his lifetime.[4] Another important book of his was *Kitab-i-Arshad,*[5] (on syntax). Other important books and treatises of his were *Bada'i'-u'l-Bayan*, (a treatise on the science of eloquence). *Risalah-i-Ibrahim Shahi,* (a treatise on jurisprudence dedicated to his patron), *Manaqib-u'l-Sadat, Sharh-i-Bazdawi* (on jurisprudence), *Risalah Taqsim-i-'Ulum* (a treatise explaining different subjects and consisting of seven chapters), *Sharh* (commentary) on the *Qasidah of Banat-i-Sa'd, i.e., Qasidah* in praise of the Prophet by Ka'b ibn Yahya, (d. 661/1262-63). *Usul-i-Ibrahim Shahi* (in Arabic, in which he discussed all the problems of *Shari'a*), and *Bahr-i-Mawwaj,* a *Tafsir* (commentary) on the holy Quran in the Persian language, perhaps the first commentary on the holy Quran in India.[6] He also wrote some other treatises and

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 35-36.

[2] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 411. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 255a.

[3] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 175-76. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 391. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 34. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, f. 126a.

[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 34. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 390. *Tazkirah*, p. 88. It is said that Mulla 'Abdur Rehman Jami the renowned scholar of Persia, wrote his book, *Sharh-i-Kafiyah*, and sent it to the learned Qazi, who, looking at it, remarked that it was a just and an abridged edition of his *Sharh-i-Hindi*. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, ff. 126a, 127b.

[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175.

[6] *Ibid*. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 390-91. *Tazkirah*, pp. 88-89. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 34.

booklets both in Arabic and Persian on religious problems, as well as letters and memoirs in these languages.[1] All these books were written in clear yet ornate style and some of them have been included in the syllabus of *madrasas* for many centuries.

The author of *Tazkirah-i-'Ulama-i-Hind* mentions that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi had a profound respect and love for Qazi Shihab-u'd-din. When once the great scholar fell seriously ill, the Sultan went to visit him; he even prayed that the illness of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din be transferred to him.[2] When the Qazi died the Sultan felt a great sorrow, which, according to Firishta, hastened his death in the same year.[3] The Qazi's tomb, where his wife is also buried, stands near the gate of the Atala Mosque in the court-yard of the present Mission High School.[4]

Mulla 'Abdul Malik 'Adil

He was the son of Nawab 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the minister of the Sharqis.[5] Mulla 'Abdul Malik was very witty and intelligent in his childhood and when he grew up his father procured for him the tutorship of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi. Soon he won the favours of his tutor and was able to complete his education at a very young age. It is said that at the age of eighteen he had gained complete mastery over the exoteric subjects, and especially over the subjects of *Usul* and *Mantiq*.[6] Qazi Shihab-u'd-din greatly appreciated a commentary which his apt pupil wrote on his (the Qazi's) *Sharh-i-Hindi*, and said this marked the completion of the Mulla's education under him. Afterwards the Qazi also

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 390-91. *Tazkirah*, pp. 88-89. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 304.

[2] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 36.

[3] Firishta is mistaken in mentioning this. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died in 844/1440, a fact which has been proved by the study of his coins. About Qazi Shihab-u'd-din's date of death, there is a controversy among many authors. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 390-91, and *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 176, mention 848/1444. *Tazkirah*, 849/1445 and *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 36-37, says 842/1438.

[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 37.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

appointed him principal of his *madrasa* where he earned a great reputation as a teacher.[1]

Once Mulla 'Abdul Malik 'Adil discussed the problems of Tauhid (unitarianism) with contemporary saints, in which his arguments pleased Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, but annoyed the others, who complained to Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din Jaunpuri.[2] At this Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din invited him to see him. At this meeting Mulla 'Abdul Malik 'Adil was so much moved by Makhdum's hospitality and virtues that he at once accepted his discipleship.[3] He died in 897/1491 and was buried in Pacca Bagh in Muhalla Katgarh of Jaunpur,[4] where his grave is still to be seen. This place is now known as Bagh-i-Shikastah.[5]

Mulla 'Ala-u'd-din 'Ata-u'l-Mulk

He was a younger brother of Mulla 'Abdul Malik 'Adil, son of Nawab 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the minister of the Sharqis.[6] He was also placed in the care of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, and became one of his renowned pupils.[7] It is said that his mind became confused by reading the *Kafiyah,* as he could not understand its logic. Qazi Shihab-u'd-din therefore wrote for his convenience the commentary on *Kafiyah,* known as *Sharh-i-Hindi.*[8] This helped Mulla 'Ala-u'd-din to solve his difficulties. He afterwards became a great scholar and was also appointed as teacher in the *madrasa* of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din.[9] Apart from being a writer, he was also a research scholar and in the latter respect his research work on *Sharh-i-Hindi* is considered to be a valuable contribu-

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 38.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[9] *Ibid.*

tion.[1] The date of his death is not known. His grave is in Bagh-i-Kharab of Muhalla Katgarh of Jaunpur.[2]

Maulana Safi Jaunpuri

Another capable student of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, he was also a tutor of the sons of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[3] He wrote a commentary on the *Kafiyah* for the Sharqi princes.[4] In addition to that he wrote marginal notes (which are still extant) on *Hidayah*, and *Bazdawi*.[5] He often accompanied Sultan Husain Sharqi, on his campaigns against Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Once he was captured. Bahlul Lodi treated him with great respect and he remained attached to him for some time.[6] When Sultan Sikandar Lodi intended to destroy the Sharqi mosques by gun-powder, the Maulana courageously protested.[7] Sikandar Lodi afterwards requested him to stay at Agra, to which he agreed. He died at Agra and was buried there.[8]

Maulana Ilah Dad Muhashshi Jaunpuri

He was a contemporary of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi.[9] He was a student of Mulla 'Abdul Malik 'Adil Jaunpuri and had also studied certain subjects under Maulana 'Abdullah Talambi, the author of *Badi'u'l-Mizan*.[10] He was an authority on the subject of *Fiqh, Usul, Hadis* and *Kalam*. He used to deliver lectures on these subjects in his *madrasa* which was situated near his monastery in Muhalla Rizwian of Jaunpur, though it (the *madrasa*) has now disappeared, owing to the ravages of time.[11] His place

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 39. The title of his research work on *Sharh-i-Hindi* is not known.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, VIII, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 87.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 412.

[10] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 39.

[11] *Tazkirah*, p. 25. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 412. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 39.

was always thronged with students and listeners, and his learned lectures spread his fame throughout India.[1] He was author of many books and treatises such as *Sharh-i-Kafiyah,* (commentary on *Kafiyah*), *Sharh-i-Hidayah* (a famous book on Islamic jurisprudence, written by Burhan-u'd-din Abul Hasan bin 'Ali al-Marghzani, d. 593/1196), *Hawashi bar Hawashi-i-Hind,* and marginal notes on the *Tafsir of Madarak* and that of *Bazdawi.*[2] Sultan Husain Sharqi gave him one hundred tankas as a reward for the writing of the two books, *i.e., Sharh-i-Hidayah* and *Bazdawi,* and he spent the entire amount on his students and on the needy.[3]

Maulana Ilah Dad lived to a great age and died in 923/1517.[4] His place of burial is controversial; according to one version his grave is in Sara-i-Ilahdin in Bihar; according to another it lies near the north-western wall of Mosque 'Id Gah of Jaunpur.

Maulana Ilah Dad was also a saint,[5] and was a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah. He had many disciples, among whom Shaikh Ma'ruf Jaunpuri was pre-eminent.[6] Maulana Ilah Dad's son, Shaikh Bhakkari Jaunpuri, was a reputed scholar of his time.[7] The author of *Tazkirah-i-'Ulama-i-Hind* mentions that Shaikh Bhakkari's scholarship had very much impressed Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Once in an assembly of scholars the Sultan put Shaikh Bhakkari and his father, Maulana Ilah Dad, to the test against Shaikh 'Abdullah Talambi and Shaikh Aziz Ullah Talambi. An interesting discussion took place about the subject

[1] *Tazkirah,* p. 25. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* p. 412.

[2] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar,* p. 191. *Tazkirah,* p. 25. *Tajalli-i-Nur,* II: 39. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram,* f. 128a.

[3] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.,* VIII, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 88.

[4] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* I: 412. *Tajalli-i-Nur,* II: 40.

[5] He was a disciple of Khawaja Muhammad 'Isa (a student of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din) and a follower of Raji Hamid Shah. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar,* p. 191. *Tazkirah,* p. 25. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* I: 412. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram,* f. 128a. He was a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah.

[6] *Tazkirah,* p. 18.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 33.

of Ma'araz (opposition) between both parties. The Sultan concluded that both father and son were better at writing whereas the others were better at discussion.[1] Mulla Ilah Dad's second son, Maulana 'Abdullah, who studied under his own father, also rose to a prominent position. He was a famous teacher and his many students earned a great name as research scholars during their time.[2] His father was very proud of him and often admired his deep scholarship.[3] He was the author of the famous commentary of *Mizan-u'l-Mantiq*.[4] The date of his death is unknown, but his grave lies near the tomb of his father, *i.e.*, near the northern wall of 'Id Gah of Jaunpur.[5]

Qazi Nizam-u'd-din Kikalani

His original name was Shihab-u'd-din Ahmad bin Muhammad.[6] His grandparents had migrated from Kikalan in Arabia to Gujarat and settled down there.[7] Qazi Kikalani was also brought up and educated there.[8] He had a high position as a scholar and teacher of *Hadis, Usul, Tafsir* and *Fiqh* among his contemporaries.[9] His eloquence as a teacher attracted large audiences and brought him wide fame.[10]

When Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, a great patron of saints and scholars, learned about Qazi Kikalani, he invited him to Jaunpur, honoured him with rich presents and appointed him to the post of Qazi.[11] Qazi Kikalani was equally devoted to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and often visited him.[12] The latter also won a great reputa-

1 *Tazkirah*, p. 33.
2 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 40.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.*

tion as a Qazi and always did justice to his profession.[1] He had the full confidence of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, who never accepted any paper without his signature.[2] Qazi Shihab-u'd-din greatly admired his scholarship. For years he (Qazi Kikalani) delivered lectures on different subjects.[3] He wrote many books among which the following two were unique and of great importance. The first one was "*Ibrahim Shahiya*", a collection of *Hanfiyah Fatawa* (decrees), which had been prepared by the order of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[4] The other, too, was a huge collection of the *Fatawa* (judgments) of the other Qazis.[5] He died in 874/1469 and his tomb is in Muhalla Chachikpur of Jaunpur.[6] The place of his residence, still in existence, became known as Muhalla Qaziyan.[7]

Qazi Salah-u'd-din Khalil

He was a grandson of Qazi Nizam-u'd-din Kikalani, who took a great interest in his education and encouraged him to achieve an eminent position both as scholar and writer.[8] Qazi Salah-u'd-din is said to have been the most cultured person of his time and was famous among his contemporaries for his attractive eloquence.[9] He was a great scholar of Islamic lore, and in particular of Islamic Jurisprudence.[10] His contemporaries acknowledged and honoured his scholarship and often visited him to seek his advice.[11] Like his grandfather he enjoyed great respect and honour among the people.

On his grandfather's death he succeeded him as Qazi of Jaunpur

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 41.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*

—a post that he successfully filled for twenty years.[1] His two books, *Sharh-u'l-Ishbah* and *Naza'ir fil-Farugh*, amongst many others, were scholarly and famous.[2] He died at the age of fifty, but his date of death is not known.[3] He was buried in Muhalla Katgarh of Jaunpur where his tomb, known by the name of the tomb of Qazi Salah, still stands to the south of Mosque 'Id Gah.[4]

He left many students among whom the most renowned was Sayyid 'Abdul Awwal Muhashshi, a descendant of 'Ala-u'd-din Lajuri.[5] He left Jaunpur on a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return settled in Ahmadabad. Afterwards he was invited to Delhi by Bairam Khan, *Khan-i-Khanan,* and died there in 968/1560-61.[6] He was a poet too.[7] His commentary on *Sahih Bukhari,* (a collection of *Ahadis*) by the name of *Faiz-u'l-Bari,* was a great achievement. His other three books, *Fara'iz-i'Siraji* (a treatise on poetry), as well as *Safar-u'l-Sa'adat* (a travel book) won him great renown. He also wrote commentaries on and marginal notes to many other books.[8]

Shaikh 'Abdul Samad

He was a grandson of the famous Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir of Delhi.[9] After the overthrow of the Sharqi dynasty he went to Delhi. The first thing he did at Delhi was to erect a splendid structure over the tomb of his grandfather. The latter had also been invited to Jaunpur by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, where he lived for one year. Afterwards, leaving his son, Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid with the king, he returned to Delhi.[10] At Delhi Shaikh 'Abdul

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, II: 42.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 90.
10 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 24. Bada'uni, I: 332. A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 2, 1963, pp. 89-90.

Samad was much honoured by Sultan Sikandar Lodi, who also became one of his followers. Shaikh 'Abdul Samad was a great scholar of Arabic and a poet of Arabic and Persian, evidence for which is to be found in his authorship of *Qasidah al-Lamiyah.*

Maulana Sama-u'd-din Kanboh

He is the last person to be mentioned here as an embodiment of learning, temporal and spiritual, of the city of Jaunpur.[1] He was a disciple of Shaikh Kabir, grandson of Makhdum Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari. Maulana Sama-u'd-din came from Multan, on the eve of Timur's invasion. After passing through Ranthambhor, Bayana and Delhi, he reached Jaunpur, where Husain Sharqi honoured him with the post of Wazir.[2] He was also honoured at the same time with the title of *Kutlugh Khan,* and he enjoyed great respect for a number of years at the court of the Sharqis. In 884/1479, he accompanied Husain Sharqi on the campaign against Bahlul Lodi. When the Sharqi army was defeated, *Qutlugh Khan* was also arrested along with many other officers.[3] Bahlul honoured him and took him to Delhi where he began to teach secular and spiritual subjects.[4]

Bahlul Lodi became so devoted to Maulana Sama-u'd-din that he used to attend his sermons every morning.[5] He appointed him as tutor of the princes and it was to Maulana Sama-u'd-din that prince Nizam Khan went for an omen when he was called by the nobles to Jalali to assume sovereignty.[6]

He wrote a commentary on *Miftah-u'l-Asrar*, a tract on mysticism, which is still extant.[7] He died during the reign of Sikandar Lodi on 17 Jamadi I, 901/2nd February, 1496, and lies buried

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 221. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 74-76.
[2] Bada'uni, I: 310. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 42b.
[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 309. *Tazkirah*, p. 80.
[4] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 97.
[5] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 74.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

near the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki at Mahrauli, Delhi.[1]

(C) *Some Important Scholars in other parts of the Sharqi Sultanate*

Shaikh A'zam Sani Lakhnawi

He was the son of Shaikh Abul Baqa bin Shaikh Musa bin Shaikh Zia-u'd-din Kirmani.[2] His grandfather, Shaikh Zia-u'd-din, had migrated from Kirman to India during the eruption of Halaku Khan.[3] Reaching Lucknow he went to see Shaikh Samarqandi, and the two of them became close friends. From then on he lived in Lucknow. Shaikh A'zam Sani also lived and died there.[4] He was a prince of great worldly sagacity. He mastered both esoteric and exoteric subjects under the tuition of the famous saint and scholar, Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Jaunpuri.[5] He had profound knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence and could propound it lucidly. He also wrote a few treatises on this subject.[6] He was on terms of intimate friendship with the famous scholar and saint, Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Kinturi.[7] Shaikh A'zam left many renowned students who continued his traditions. Among these the more prominent were Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Khairabadi and Shaikh Zia Lakhnawi.[8]

Shaikh Sa'd-u'd-din Khairabadi

His father, Qazi Budhan, was a Qazi of Khairabad.[9] Shaikh Sa'd-u'd-din completed his education under Shaikh A'zam Sani Lakhnawi,[10] as has been mentioned above. He was a spiritual

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 97. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 74.

[2] *Tazkirah*, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[10] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 401. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, f. 127a.

disciple of Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi and lived with him till his (Shaikh Mina's) death.[1] He spent the rest of his life in his native town of Khairabad as a teacher and writer.[2] He was a profound writer, who wrote many books on *Fiqh* and *Nahw*. These include *Sharh-i-Misbah, Sharh-i-Kafiyah, Sharh-i-Jami* and *Sharh Risalah-i-Makkiya*.[3] The last book was also known as the *Majma-'u'l-Suluk*,[4] In this book the Shaikh also collected some of the *malfuzats* of his tutor, Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi, including the latter's short biography.[5] He enjoyed a great reputation as a successful writer and teacher and died in his native town in 882/1477.[6] He was also very fond of Sama music. He left many capable disciples such as Shaikh Safi Jaunpuri and Shaikh Mubarak of Sandila.[7]

Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Lakhnawi

He was a son of Shaikh Sama-u'd-din Lakhnawi. He was also a disciple of his own father and received the *Khirqah* of the Chishtiya *silsilah* from him.[8] He also received the *Khirqah* of the Suhrawardiya *silsilah* from Sayyid Ajmal Jaunpuri.[9]

He was an accomplished scholar and teacher of both esoteric and exoteric subjects.[10] He was a saint of great piety and charity. He left eight sons who carried on his mystic traditions.[11] He died in 829/1425-26.[12]

[1] *Tazkirah*, p. 75. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 44. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 188.

[2] *Tazkirah*, p. 76. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 188.

[3] *Tazkirah*, pp. 75-76. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 188. *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, f. 127a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 401.

[4] *Tazkirah, op. cit. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, op. cit. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya, op. cit.*

[5] *Tazkirah, op. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[7] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 188. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 401.

[8] *Tazkirah, op. cit.*, p. 72.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

(D) *Hindi Scholars and Poets of the Sharqi Period*

Three different streams contributed to the Hindi literature of the period. First, the Bhakti leaders such as Kabir, secondly poets and scholars of Hindi dialects such as Vidyapati and Shaikh Qutban, thirdly the Muslim mystics such as Shaikh Daniyal and Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and their followers.

The Bhakti movement is the cult of the personal god who is full of love and pity for his devotees, and also finally becomes the supreme object of devotion. This movement was not a new one; it was rooted in Hinduism, but had received great impetus from the advent of Islam in India. The lower classes of Hindu society were feeling the pull of Islam which offered them equality of social status. To counteract this pull, the Bhakti leaders had to give Hinduism a mass appeal, in content as well as in the means of communication. Most of them used local and regional dialects to popularize their teachings.

At Banaras Ramananda (1400-70) inculcated the worship of Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu.[1] His disciples such as Kabir (born at Banaras in 1425), Dhanna (a Jat, b. 1415), Pipa (Raja of Gagraungarh, b. 1425), Sain (a barber) and Raidas (a chamar of Banaras), carried his mission further and, like him, wrote in Hindi.[2] Some of these writings are still preserved in Adigranth.[3] Vallabhacharya (born at Banaras in 1479), another great Bhakti leader of Vrindaban, represented Krishna as Vishnu's avatar.[4] In Bengal Chaitanya, the founder of the Gaudiya sect, also led the movement of Bhakti love for Krishna.[5] In northern India, Kabir, and in Panjab, Guru Nanak, preached monotheism, denounced idolatry, and strove for the levelling of caste distinc-

[1] Yusuf Husain, pp. 14-15.

[2] Misra Bandu Vinod, p. 174. Hari Audh, I: 188, p. 234. *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 299-300. Yusuf Husain, pp. 14-15. Grierson, p. 7, No. 11.

[3] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 299.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 305-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 307-10.

tions.[1] They also eased the tension between the Hindus and Muslims.

All these Bhakti reformers, many of whom flourished in the territory of the Sharqis, preached their cult in local dialects. The Sharqis were, in fact, benevolent to their Hindu subjects and helped to restore the local Rajas, who also enjoyed religious freedom under them.[2] Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi had helped Siva Singh of Tirhut against Arsalan, and had restored him to his kingdom, but the name of Sultan Husain Sharqi in this respect stands pre-eminent. He built temples for his Hindu subjects and was equally loved by his Muslim and Hindu subjects.[3] The latter helped him in his struggle against his Lodi opponents.[4]

The earliest of the Bhakti preachers who flourished in northern India and who have been connected with Hindi literature, were Namdev and Sadhana Bhagat.[5] The former, a prominent preacher in that part of the country, is considered to be the forerunner of Kabir. Apart from these there were also many others, both Hindu and Muslim, who wrote in Hindi and local dialects and have been considered as the pioneers of this tradition. An account of some of them follows.

Kabir

He was born at Banaras, and though his date of birth is not yet certain the majority of scholars have agreed upon his date of death as 1518, a few months later than the death of Sikandar Lodi.[6] He was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi.[7] He is said to be the

[1] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 294-95, 300-302.

[2] *Kirti Lata*, pp. 14-18. *Monumental Antiquities*, II: 189. *D. G. A'zam Garh*, p. 154. One temple of Husain Sharqi's reign still exists in the village of Kopa about 25 miles east of A'zam Garh in tehsil Mahmudabad.

[3] Sultan Husain was mostly helped by the local Rajas such as Raja of Tirhut against his opponents.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 293-300.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 299. A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II, 1957, p. 73. Yusuf Husain, pp. 15-16.

[7] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 446.

author of seventy-five works, of which *Kabir Parichaya ki Sakhi, Kabir Panji, Kabir ki Vani* and *Bijak* are the most famous.[1] But one of his biographers, Ram Mukand Varma, attributes to him fifty-six works, inclusive of works such as *Muhammad Budh, Balkh Ka Piyaz* and *Kabir Gorakh ki Goshthi.* Some of them might have been written by his disciples, *i.e.*, Panthi Sadus, to enhance the prestige of their master.[2] Apart from these books he composed a good number of *Shlokas* and *Padas* which have been included in the *Granth.*[3] His oldest work still extant to-day bears the date 1510.[4]

Kabir might have used the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, which is still spoken to-day in and around Banaras.[5] Yet Panjabi, Khari, Braj, Rajasthani, Arabic and Persian words are also found in his writings, as he travelled widely. As he had not acquired any book knowledge, and was a religious reformer who aimed to influence the common people, the language he wrote was largely free from conventional rules of grammar.[6] He used simple language which would appeal to the heart of his audience, but under the plain garb of his expression sublime and rich thoughts are often found. His works have been preserved in Granth with heavy influence of Panjabi. His verses which had been transmitted orally for quite a long time were first collected by one of his disciples, Dharmadas.[7] The simplicity and earthiness one finds in his style shows that Kabir addressed the masses and not the

[1] Misra Bandhu Vinod, I: 78.

[2] A. Halim, *op. cit.*

[3] Misra Bandhu Vinod, *op. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] One of his utterances is the following: *boli meri purab ki.* See Hari Audh, etc., p. 159 as well as 'Abdul Haqq, p. 94:

Meri boli Purbi tahi na chinhai koi,
Meri boli so likhai ju purab ka hoi,

Translation: "My language is Purbi which nobody recognises"
"My language will be written by one who will belong to the east (of the midland)."

[6] Shyam-Sundar Das, p. 42.

[7] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II, 1957, p. 74.

intelligentsia.[1] His writings reveal him at times as a *Pir* and *Sufi* and sometimes as Vaishnava and student of Vedanta. He had many disciples who wrote in the Braj dialect instead of Purbi. Prominent among them was Dharmadas who wrote "*Dwadash Panth*" (Twelve Paths), *Nirbhaya Jnana*, and *Kabir Vani*. The last was written in *Samvat* 1521/1464.[2] Some of Dharmadas's sonnets are extremely melodious and read like Arabic meters.[3]

Kabir's son, Kamal, the founder of one of the sects (Panths) of Kabir, was also a poet, but did not write much. His only *pada* is quoted by Misra Bandhu.[4] A few specimens of his compositions from the language point of view are quoted below.[5]

Ganga ke sang Sarita bigri
So sarita Ganga hoi nibri,
Bigryo Kabira Rama duhai
Sadhu bhaye an kathin na jai.[6]

Translation:

The river became mixed in the Ganges,
And thus the river ended being merged in the Ganges,
By Ram, I say, Kabir became corrupted.
He has become a Sadhu, and will never stray from the right path.

Panjabi-Rajasthani:

Kabir sangat sadhu ki kade na nirphal hoi
Chandan hosi babna Nim na kahso hoi.[7]

Translation:

Kabir, the associations of holy men never go fruitless
O Brahman, nobody will call sandal Nim (margo).

[1] R. C. Sukla, p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Misra Bandhu Vinod, I: 105.
[5] See Hari Audh, pp. 160-165, and A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II: 74.
[6] Hari Audh, p. 180.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Vidyapati Thakur

Another great Hindi writer of the period was Vidyapati Thakur. He was a Saiva Brahman and was born in 1363 at Bisapi in Mithila.[1]

Later he became a court poet of Raja Siva Singh of Tirhut.[2] This small state existed from the beginning of the fifteenth century to its end, and its rajas were feudatories of the Sharqis. After the fall of the latter, it was annexed by Sikandar Lodi in 900/1494.[3]

Vidyapati Thakur was a Sanskrit scholar who also wrote in the Prakrit *Apabhramsha* and Mithili dialects.[4] His two books, *Kirti Pataka*, and *Kirti Lata*, are of great importance in this respect. In the latter he dealt with a very important aspect of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who fought for Vidyapati's patron against rebellious Arsalan who had, in fact, killed the previous ruler and dispossessed his patron. In fact, Vidyapati had himself gone to the court of the Sharqi Sultan to beg for help, for his patron. In *Kirti Lata* he gives a detailed description of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi's procession which paraded through the Mithila capital with great pomp and show.[5]

Though the Bengalis claim him as a Bengali poet, Hindi scholars regard him as a poet of Hindi, because Mithili is the dialect of the *Purbi* (eastern) branch of Hindi.[6] He is remembered as the cuckoo of Mithila, because of his sweet and melodious expression. His description of the separation of Radha from Krishna is considered his greatest work. Vidyapati is thus considered to be

[1] Keay, p. 28. This place is now in the Darbhanga district of Bihar.

[2] Grierson, p. 9. Misra Bandhu Vinod, I: 167.

[3] Bada'uni, I: 316.

[4] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II, 1957, p. 78. Vidyapati's Sanskrit writings include *Purusha-Pariksha*, *Durgabhakti Tarangini*, *Dan Vakyavali* and *Vivadasara*. Grierson, p. 10.

[5] *Kirti Lata*, pp. 14-18.

[6] Shyam Sundar Das, p. 323. The Mithili dialect is more allied to Hindi than to Bengali.

the founder of Radha-bhava in Hindi literature.[1] He is allegorical in expression, and the love he sings of is divine love and not of flesh and blood. His songs were greatly admired by Chaitanya, who used to hear them being sung by one of his disciples, Damodar Swarup.[2] Vidyapati Thakur is, of course, the greatest poet of Mithili and is also considered a great poet in Hindi. He is the forerunner of many Mithil poets such as Nandapati and Umapati —the one who was the brilliant writer of "*Chhanda*" (musical verse).[3] As author of *Parijata-harana* and *Rukmini-parinaya*, he is the first dramatist in Hindi.[4] His work enshrines memories of his patrons, the Mithila rulers and the benevolent Sharqis.

Makhdum Daniyal Khizri Jaunpuri

He was a most renowned scholar and saint of the Sharqi period.[5] Some of his students earned fame as renowned scholars. Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the Mahdawiya sect, and his brother, Sayyid Ahmad Khizri, were the Makhdum's students and disciples. Sayyid Ahmad succeeded to the Makhdum's spiritual post and continued his traditions.[6] Makhdum Daniyal was also a poet of Hindi. The following two verses are illustrative of his charming style:

Jug Jug 'Umar Hazrat Ji Khawaji.
        Hazrat Binti Rasul Nawaji.

Daniyal Jio Par Gat Kahna
        Hazrat Khwaja Khizr Hath Dena[7]

Translation:

Hazrat Ji! Khwaja (Khizr) Live long.
Hazrat Ji! (Khwaja Khizr) Accept my prayers.

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II, 1957, p. 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[3] Misra Bandhu Vinod, I: 177.
[4] Grierson, p. 30.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 56. For details see Chapter VIII.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 443.
[7] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, p. 56.

Daniyal! Enjoy long life but always say,
Hazrat Ji! Khwaja Khizr! Help me.

Shaikh Qutb 'Ali Qutban

He was originally a disciple of Shaikh Burhan of Kalpi, and afterwards joined the Shattari Order, as has been mentioned by Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*.[1] He was a court poet of Sultan Husain Sharqi, to whom he dedicated his famous *Masnawi*, "*Mirgavati*", written in the Awadhi dialect. He mentions his patron's name as Sahu Husen (Husain Shah).[2] The following quotation bears this out:

Sahu Husen hai bara raja,
Chhatra sinhasana unko Chhaja.
Pandit au budhivan Sayana,
Parhe Purana artha saba jana.
Dharam Yudhishtira unko Chhaja
Hamar sira Chhanh Kio jaga raja.
Dana deha au ganata na abai,
Bali au Karana na sarvari pabai.

Translation:

Husain Shah is a great king,
The canopy and the throne befit him.
He is a Pandit and greatly wise,
He knows the Purana and knows its meanings.
He compares with Yudhishtira in Justice,
You have spread shade over my head, o king.
He gives gifts and does not know counting,
Bali and Karana never surpassed him (in bravery).

Shaikh Qutban wrote this *masnawi* in 1501 when his patron, Sultan Husain Sharqi, was passing his days at Colgong as a refugee under the protection of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Husain Shah (1493-1518) of Bengal.[3] It is remarkable that he compares his

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, II, 1957, p. 85.
[2] Misra Bandhu Vinod, I: 199.
[3] A. Halim, p. 71.

patron to the heroes of Hindu mythology and not to Nushirwan, Rustam or Hatim. Like his contemporaries, Mir Sayyid Manjhan and Malik Muhammad Ja'isi, he tells his love stories against a Hindu socio-religious background, and his heroes and heroines are Hindu princes and princesses. This makes his writings much more interesting. In the same way he illustrates the tragic end of Mirgavati by the union of the seeker with the Divine Soul, similar to the Hindu ideal of married love.

Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri

Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the Mahdawi mystic movement in India, also enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Husain Sharqi.[1] He often used Hindi in his Mahdawiya sermons. Several of his verses have been quoted by Dr. 'Abdul Haqq in his book, *Urdu Ki Nashw Wa Numa Men Sufiya-i-kiram Ka Kam.*[2] Even the aphorisms of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and of the pioneers of Mahdawi Da'iras were full of Hindi words and phrases. His twelve *Khulafah* carried on his traditions and also preached and wrote in Hindi and other dialects. Some of his *Khulafah* such as Mian Mustafa Gujarali and Shaikh Burhan also wrote Hindi poems.[3] It is clear that this movement indirectly contributed much to popularize the Hindi language among the masses.

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi (1453-1518)

He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Sabri of Manikpur and at one time enjoyed the patronage of the Sharqis.[4] After the fall of the latter he migrated to Shahabad in 1491 and then to Gangoh, where he enjoyed Lodi patronage.[5] Babur and

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.
[2] 'Abdul Haqq, pp. 20-21.
[3] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 195b. Bada'uni, III: 6-8.
[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 48b. *Sayyid Nur-u'l-Hasan, M.I.Q.*, I, No. I, July, 1950, p. 49. For details see Chapter VIII.
[5] Sayyid Nur-u'l-Hasan, *M.I.Q.*, I, No. I, July, 1950, p. 49.

Humayun had also great respect for him. Humayun indeed became his disciple.[1] Apart from being a scholar and writer of Persian, he was also a great supporter of Hindi. As a Hindi poet he composed under the name of Alakhdas (invisible servant).[2] In his *Rushad Nama,* a Persian work on Sufism, one finds Hindu *dohas* as well.[3]

Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Kalpwi

Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Ansari, a son of Taj-u'd-din Ansari,[4] was an ascetic of great eminence and piety. Owing to the influence of Mian Ilah Dad of Bari, a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, he had accepted the Mahdawi faith,[5] and had made for himself a very small and dingy cell where he constantly practised his spiritual pursuits. Although he had never studied any of the sciences treated in Arabic literature, he used to give the most eloquent discourses on the Quran. He wrote Hindi poetry on the themes of exhortation, admonition, mysticism, the longing of the human soul for God, the unity of God, and renunciation.[6] He composed *Firaq Nama* in Hindi, a work full of pathos and profound emotion.[7] Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Bada'uni, the author of *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh,* met him once in 967/1559-60, while he was returning from Chunar. Mulla 'Abdul Qadir writes that on this occasion Shaikh Burhan recited some of his own excellent Hindi poetry on mysticism.[8] Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis also praises his Hindi *Dohas* and writes that they are very popular and reveal ecstatic emotion and inspiration.[9] His numerous well known

[1] Sayyid Nur-u'l-Hasan, *M.I.Q.*, I, No. I, July, 1950, p. 49. S.S. Rizvi, p. 202.

[2] 'Abdul-Haqq, pp. 23-24.

[3] Sayyid Nur-u'l-Hasan, *op. cit.*

[4] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 195b.

[5] S. A. Askari, "A Newly Discovered Volume of Awadhi Works, including the *Padmawat* and *Akhrawat* of Malik Muhammad Ja'isi," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, March and June, 1933, p. 31. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 47.

[6] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, *op. cit.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, f. 195.

[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 276.

verses in Hindi are full of truth and admonition and are charged with emotion.[1] They are highly pleasing to those who possess love and good-will towards all men. He attained a long life of about a hundred years and died in 970/1562-63.[2] Shaikh Burhan left many disciples, among whom Malik Muhammad Ja'isi, the author of the famous *Padmawat* and *Akhrawat*, was most eminent.[3]

Thus the Bhagats, mystic writers and poets, who enjoyed the patronage of the Sharqi rulers, established sound foundations for the further development of Hindi literature. Their services helped in freeing this language from the Apabrhamsha stage, secured for it a stable vernacular form, and finally helped it to gain an effective literary form. Owing to the rise of new forms, the earlier heroic ballads fell into disuse. Apart from Hindi poetry, *padas* and *dohas*, the foundations of Hindi drama were also laid down in this period. Above all, the Bhakti poetry of the Krishnite school provided the theme and the form of classical song literature. The importance of the Sharqi period in the history of Hindi literature lies in its being a parting of the ways.

Section II

Fine Arts under the Sharqis

(A) *Music Under the Sharqis*

With the break up of the Delhi Empire Sama' music as well as vocal and instrumental music found new patronage at the courts of the provincial dynasties. Among these the Sharqis deserve pride of place as patrons of music. Husain Sharqi, in particular, earned undying fame as the inventor of various *Ragas*.[4] He was so much given to music and dancing that he would not stop musical parties even at the approach of the enemy forces.[5]

[1] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, *op. cit.*
[2] Bada'uni, III: 6-8.
[3] S. A. Askari, *op. cit.*
[4] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, f. 270a.
[5] Sayyid S. A. Rehman, p. 531.

Husain Sharqi has left a permanent place for himself in Indian classical music.

In tracing the history of this art during the Sharqi period, one discovers these areas of achievement. First, the music of *Sama'* and *Qawwali,* which was regarded as an aid to spiritual ecstasy and which received encouragement from the *Suhrawardiya* and *Chishtiya* mystics. Secondly Bhakti songs and Bhakti hymns composed by Bhakti saints and poets and sung by their followers, especially in religious assemblies. Thirdly the classical tradition, enriched and enlarged by the inventive genius of the Sharqi rulers and aristocracy.

It cannot be denied that *Sama'* music in the early stages after the advent of the Muslims, was nursed in *Khanqahs* of the Suhrawardiya and Chishtiya sufis. The saints of both Orders, with some exceptions, of course, considered *Sama'* (mystic music played only in their devotional gatherings to the accompaniment of *Daf,* a small tambourine type of drum) as a means of accelerating spiritual ecstasy. Thus a useful service was rendered to this in the *Khanqahs* of Multan, Ajodhan (Pak Patan), Lahore, Uchch, Delhi, Gaur and elsewhere. The mystic auspices helped to make music, especially the *Sama'* variety, popular and at the same time respectable. The name of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya of Multan can be mentioned in this respect. He is credited with the invention of some airs of composite character commonly known as *Multani Ragas,*[1] such as *Puriya-Dhanasari* and *Rag Multani.* The earliest Suhrawardiya mystics who migrated to Zafarabad were Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind,* and Sadr-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind,* both disciples of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani, grandson of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya Multani.[2] Thus these early mystics brought with them *Sama'* traditions which they established at Jaunpur on firm foundations. Some of them such as Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind* had developed

[1] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa,* ff. 271-73. *Rag Darpan,* ff. 12-13.

[2] *Tajalli-i-Nur,* I: 8, 11-12.

such a devotion to the art that they expired while listening to it.[1] The common man also fell under its spell.

With the migration of Chishtiya mystics to this part of the country, the traditions of *Sama'* music were further enriched, and we soon find flourishing centres at Kichaucha, Manikpur and Jaunpur itself.[2] Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya of Delhi, one of the greatest Chishtiya saints, was very fond of *Sama'* as well as Hindi *Ragas*, particularly Multani.[3] This gave a great impetus to music. One of his chief disciples, Amir Khusrau, an inventive genius of many *Ragas*, further enriched these traditions.[4] Amir Khusrau's two disciples, Samat and Niaz, later took the lead and founded the *Qawwali* school of Indian music, which to this day is very popular not only among the members of this Order, but also among the common people. Notable among music-loving Chishtiya saints, who flourished in the Sharqi Kingdom, were Sayyid Ashraf Samnani, Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri, Shaikh Bari Haqqani, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Chishti, Shaikh Adhan Chishti, Shah Sayyidu Manikpuri and Shaikh Badha Iriji.[5] They took the lead in popularising this art especially among the common people. Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Lajuri, who was also a poet, was a gifted musician.[6] Shaikh Pir Bodhan of Barnawa (d. 1497) was another mystic and musician of Jaunpur who used to have contests with his patron, Husain Sharqi.[7]

Like the Sufis of the Suhrawardiya and Chishtiya Orders, the Bhagats and the preachers of Bhakti who flourished in the

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 10-11.

[2] See for details Chapter VIII.

[3] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, I, No. I, May, 1957.

[4] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, ff. 267. Kaumudi, *I.H.Q.*, XXVI, June, 1950, pp. 130-32. He is said to have invented *Tarana* and evolved *Bahar*. The evolution of *Qawwali* is also traditionally attributed to him. The *Sitar* modification of *Vina* was also introduced by him.

[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 171-72, 192 and 226. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 24, 27, 29, 46. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 418-19 and 431-32. *Bahr-i-Zakh Khar*, ff. 229. *Safinat-u'l-Auliya*, p. 192.

[6] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 49.

[7] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 131a. *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani*, ff. 147b, 148a.

Sharqi Kingdom also provided an incentive to the development of Indian Music. The debt that Indian music owes to the Bhakti movement cannot be exaggerated. A study of the Granth Sahib reveals that all great Bhakti saints—Namdev, Raidas, Guru Nanak or Kabir—under the Sharqis composed poems to be sung to arouse spiritual feelings. In those days music and poetry were very closely linked indeed. Most of the musicians were poets and composers at the same time, and thus music was considered to be an accomplishment which no poet could afford to do without.[1] Poets like Amir Khusrau, Vidyapati and Kabir were exponents of Indian music. Verses composed by such poets were intended not merely for recitation, but also for being sung in a proper manner to the tune of certain *Ragas*. Vidayapati, the court poet of the Mithila rulers the feudatories of the Sharqis, achieved a prominent position as a composer of Hindi songs.[2] Chaitanya was fond of singing Vidyapati's songs and made *Sankirtan* (chorus singing) the vehicle of popular devotion for the members of this Order.[3] Kabir wrote devotional poetry called *Bhakti Deva* or *Bhakti Ras*, which has been considered the surest and the quickest vehicle for evoking the devotional attitude.[4]

Sultan Husain Sharqi himself made a prominent contribution to it. He was, in fact, the greatest inventive genius after Amir Khusrau of Delhi and for that reason has been entitled *Gandharva*.[5] His reputation spread all over India. He invented twelve *Syams*, these being *Malhar Syam, Gaur Syam, Bhopal Syam, Megh Syam, Basant Syam, Kehnur Syam, Soho Syam, Ram Syam, Berari Syam, Syam Godani, Ghund Syam* and *Purbi Syam*.[6] Another invention of his includes four *Todis: Asawari Todi*, long known as *Husaini* or *Jaunpuri Asawari, Rasui Todi, Behmaley Todi* and

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, I, No. I, 1956, p. 54.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 1957, pp. 79-80.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, No. I, 1956, p. 54.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, No. I, May, 1957, pp. 59-60.

[6] *Rag Darpan*, ff. 11-12. *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, f. 270a. Sayyid S. A. Rehman, pp. 531-32.

Jaunpuri Basant.[1] He also mixed certain *Ragas* in his *Todis* such as *Ram Kali* and *Malsri* in *Ram Todi,* and *Multani* and *Dhnasri* in *Rasui Todi.*[2] He also adapted the Arabic mode called *Zungulah,* known under its corrupt name *Jangla.* This was another popular mode of Jaunpur.[3] Above all Sultan Husain has left an undying name through his invention of the *Khayal* mode of singing.[4]

Husain Sharqi's patronage of this art also greatly inspired his contemporaries. Thus Raja Man Singh (1468-1517) of Gwalior further enriched the former's traditions. Raja Man Singh of Gawalior was a highly accomplished musician with a rich voice, and had a particular style of singing modelled on the one introduced by Husain.[5] He rendered a great service to the art, by collecting all these *Ragas* of new melodies and new techniques introduced by Muslims and including them in his famous book, *Man Kautuhal* (curiosity of Raja Man Singh).[6] The work is a landmark in the evolution of North Indian Music.[7] Even Raja 'Id Singh Gor and Raja Ram Shah of Khargpur were well versed in the style of Amir Khusrau and Sultan Husain Sharqi.[8] The latter's contemporary, Sultan Sikandar Lodi, though a strict adherent of the *Shari'a,* was also fond of music and would not go to sleep unless he had listened to music. He had four expert young musicians, one to play on the *Chang* (a kind of harp), the second on the *Qanun* (a kind of drum, or tabor), the third on the *Vina,* and the fourth on the *Tambura* (a drone instrument), and he used to listen to them before going to sleep.[9] In the

[1] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa,* f. 270a. *Rag Darpan,* ff. 11-12. Sayyid S. A. Rehman, pp. 531-32.

[2] *Ibid.* Sayyid S. A. Rehman, pp. 531-32. *Rag Darpan,* ff. 11-12.

[3] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, I, No. I, 1956, pp. 59-60.

[4] Sayyid S. A. Rehman, p. 528. A. Halim, *ibid.*, p. 60.

[5] A. Halim, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[7] *Ibid.* A. Halim, *I.C.*, XIX, No. I, January, 1945, p. 355.

[8] A. Halim, *I.C.*, p. 359.

[9] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, I, No. I, 1956, p. 57.

same way he had four *surnai-Shehnai* (clarionet) players.[1] Sikandar Lodi had a great liking especially for four *Ragas: Kedara, Mali-Gauda, Kalyan* and *Husaini Kanra,* also another invention of Husain.[2]

Husain Sharqi's *Khayal* mode of singing is still very popular though with some variations. This *Khayal* type of music replaced its forerunner, *Dhrupad. Dhrupad* is sung to the accompaniment of the *Mirdang* (*Pakhawaj*), an old Indo-Pakistani drumming instrument.[3] It is static and conventional and aims at rousing an attitude of devotion, whereas *Khayal* aims at creating a sense of joy, by the multiplication of melodies in an easy rhythm. It was further developed during the reign of Shah Jahan.[4] But *Khayal* as it is known to-day took its shape during the time of the later Mughuls.[5]

(B) *Painting Under the Sharqis*

Apart from the other arts, the Sharqi reign is equally important for the art of Painting. In fact, the last Sharqi ruler himself was considered to be a competent painter. One Jain *Kalpasutra* testified to this fact as well as to the patronage of this talented Sultan of the art of painting. This unique manuscript, the Jain *Kalpasutra,* which once formed a part of the collection of such other Kalpasutras of the late Hamsavijayaji, is now in the Narasimhajini Polna Jnana Bhandar Baroda.[6] The manuscript itself denotes that its text was written in *Vikrama Samvat,* 1522 (1465) at Yavanpur (Jaunpur) in the reign of Huseyn Shah (Husain Shah Sharqi) by the order of Harshini Sravika.[7]

It consists of eighty-six pages, eight miniatures and seventy-

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, I, No. I, 1956, p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
[6] Moti Chandra, p. 38.
[7] *Ibid.* Also see Figs. 1 and 2 on plate X, in this respect.

four decorative border motifs.[1] Some of these motifs also belong to the Sharqi architecture. Their floral designs have been beautifully executed and are partly of Hindu and partly of Muslim design.[2] The floral designs are in red, yellow, green, white, dark green and blue. Also the figures of different animals such as ducks, fish, deer, horses, elephants and peacocks have been drawn in these motifs.[3] Furthermore geometrical designs of various multiple colours decorate them, combining in such a way that they appeal powerfully to the aesthetic sense.[4]

The miniatures introduced both secular and religious scenes of life. These include scenes from the lives of the *Jinas* and saints, such as the consecration ceremony of *Rshabhadeva,*[5] the fourteen dreams of *Devananda,*[6] the duel of *Bharata Bahubali,*[7] the *Kosa* dance and the episode of *Arya Samiti,*[8] Indra holding an umbrella over *Aryadharma,*[9] the four *Samghas* worshipping at the *Nirvana* of Mahavira,[10] and the grief of *Trisala* at the immobility of the foetus.[11]

At this period the traditions of miniature painting in Delhi and in Malwa, Gujarat, and the Deccan had already been established. But in Jaunpur Husain Sharqi's reign was a pioneer period of Muslim India as regards the art of painting. A close study of the paintings of this manuscript reveals that they belong to the Western Indian tradition, *i.e.*, to the pre-muslim art of Rajputana.[12]

[1] Moti Chandra, p. 38.

[2] H. Goetz, *Marg*, IV, No. 2, p. 37. Also see Figs. 3 and 4 on plate XI, in this respect.

[3] Moti Chandra, p. 38. Also see Figs. 5 and 6, plate XI, in this respect.

[4] *Ibid.* Also see Figs. 3 to 8 on plates XI, XII and XIII, in this respect.

[5] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 9 on plate XIV, in this respect.

[6] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 10 on plate XV, in this respect.

[7] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 11 on plate XVI, in this respect.

[8] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 12 on plate XVI, in this respect.

[9] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 13 on plate XVII, in this respect.

[10] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 14 on plate XVII, in this respect.

[11] *Ibid.* Also see Fig. 15 on plate XVII, in this respect.

[12] *Ibid.*

On the other hand, they show many original peculiarities. Here scenes from secular life are depicted which are among the finest illustrations of Hindu texts and *Vasanta Vilasa.*[1] These new developments seem to be the first fruits of the re-awakening of the indigenous Indian creative urge inspired by the *Vaishanava* mystic movement.[2] It is further interesting to note a new point here concerning the treatment of the female figure.[3] Faces are carefully finished, and remind us of the representation of Indian women in the early Mughul school.[4]

[1] Moti Chandra, p. 37.
[2] H. Goetz, p. 37.
[3] Moti Chandra, p. 38. Also see Fig. 10 on plate XV, in this respect.
[4] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII

Mystics and the Mystical Movements under the Sharqis

Introduction

Holy men and mystics such as the religious scholars of the medieval period were, in fact, the real torch-bearers of moral reform and spiritual culture, and wherever they lived, established rich traditions in this respect. These mystics were often scholars of religious lore. Through preaching and correspondence they influenced both high and low in the performance of their moral duties. On the one hand they aimed at propagating the *Sufi* ideal through their own love and sincere dealings and on the other stressed responsibility of rulers and ruled for good government. This dual responsibility ensured the people the moral equalization of society—a society in which moral values determine the form of the state. And thus with this two-fold mission, mystics brought men nearer to God, purified human society, and also brought a sense of dignity to various cultural groups.

The early Muslim rulers often tried to win over the mystics, as much out of conviction as out of expediency, in order to

buttress their own personal authority and prestige. This holds true of the Sharqis as well. They encouraged holy men and scholars of religion from all over India as well as from Middle-Eastern countries to come to Jaunpur. They honoured the mystics and showed them great benevolence. The name of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi is pre-eminent in this respect.

The holy men came to Jaunpur partly encouraged by the benevolent treatment of the Sharqi rulers and partly by conditions in the country from which they had migrated. The pioneer mystics who migrated to this part of the country belonged to the *Suhrawardiya* Order. They were Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind* and Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind*. Both were the disciples of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din of Multan. They left the latter place partly for fear of losing their lives because of the Mongol incursions and partly to propagate Islam in this part of the country, as it was thickly populated by Hindus. They were equally honoured by Zafar Khan, then governor of Zafarabad, and the latter place they made their permanent residence. Both Aftab-i-Hind and Chiragh-i-Hind were saints of great virtues and scholars of exoteric subjects. They established monasteries and *madrasas* at Zafarabad, where they started teaching and preaching and where afterwards their traditions were maintained by their disciples and students under the patronage of the Sharqis. The later history of the Suhrawardiya saints of Zafarabad and Jaunpur belongs to them.

The second group to come to Jaunpur was the *Chishtiya* mystics, who by now had lost their former importance partly because of the maltreatment by Muhammad bin Tughluq, and partly because of the invasion of Timur. Many of them moved to Jaunpur, after Sultan-ush-Sharq had established his power on a sound footing. The first pioneers of the Chishtiya Order to reach Jaunpur were Khwaja Abul-Fath, Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir, Shaikh 'Isa Taj Chishti and others.

The second phase of the Chishtiya Order belongs to the dis-

ciples of Sayyid 'Ala-u'l-Haqq of Panduah whose two chief *khalifahs,* Sayyid Ashaf Jahangir Samnani and Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri, simultaneously came under the jurisdiction of the Sharqis and established two important schools of the Chishtiya Order at Kichaucha and Manikpur. Both these men, being eminent saints and scholars, were well received by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. Their reputation spread all over the country and attracted many to accept their discipleship.

Another notable saint was Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Rudaulwi, the chief disciple of Jalal-u'd-din Panipati, who established an important school of the *Sabiriya* Order at Rudauli.

Sultan Ibrahim's kind treatment of the mystics made Jaunpur famous also in foreign countries, so that many eminent scholars and saints emigrated to it and established independent mystic orders. Notable among them were Shah Madar, originally an inhabitant of Syria. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi received him well and provided him with a monastery at Makanpur and all other facilities. Shah Madar founded the mystic order of *Madariya,* which flourished in and around Jaunpur. He was a profound scholar and saint of miraculous deeds whose reputation spread far and wide and attracted many disciples.

The Sharqi period is also noted for two other important mystic orders, *i.e.,* "*Qalandariya*" and "*Shattariya*". The latter was founded by Shah 'Abdullah Shattari, who emigrated to Jaunpur from Persia during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim. This mystic order also produced eminent saints and scholars among whom the names of Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri, Shaikh Bodhan, Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus, and Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar,* will always be remembered. The *Shattari* Order rose to an eminent position both politically and socially at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was suppressed first by the Suri Kings and then by the Mughul Emperors.

Jaunpur is also famous for the Mahdawi Movement of Sayyid

Muhammad Jaunpuri, which became a force in subsequent years.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to present *silsilah*-wise, that is, according to the orders they belonged to, the biographies and works of all saints who lived and flourished at various centres such as Zafarabad, Jaunpur, Manikpur, Kichaucha, Kalpi, Kintur, Lucknow, Iraj, Rajgir, Pla'in, Awadh, Fathpur, Rudauli, Badauli, Darya-abad, Bijnor, Bahraich and Makanpur.

Section I

The Suhrawardiya Order

This order was founded by Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi (1169), a native of Suhraward, a town of Jibal in Persia,[1] but was developed by his nephew, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (1234).[2] He was a great theologian and a representative of orthodox Sufism, best known for his book, '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, a thirteenth century manual of medieval mysticism.[3] It was his belief that one could attend to temporal matters without harming one's spiritual practices, *i.e.*, "Poison does not harm one, if one knows the antidote." The saints of this Order freely mixed with kings and accepted government posts, lands and wealth. Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi, *i.e.*, the nephew of the founder of this Order, even performed the duties of an ambassador of Baghdad in the court of Arbal.[4] He was later on put to death by Sultan Salah-u'd-din in 1234-35.[5] This Order became very popular throughout Central Asia and the countries of the Middle East and in those places numerous saints further enriched this Order. But the Mongol invasions forced these saints to flee and most of them made their way eastward. Soon

[1] A'in, III: 396. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 11. He was guide and paternal uncle of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi.

[2] Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV: 506.

[3] *Ibid. Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 131.

[4] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 131. *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*, p. 197.

after they established *khanqahs* in Multan, Uchch, and Talamba.[1]

Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi's many *khalifahs* such as Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznawi, Maulana Majad-u'd-din, Haji Shaikh Zia-u'd-din Rumi, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri and Shaikh Nur-u'd-din reached India and enrolled numerous disciples, but Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya Multani (1182-1286) was the *khalifah* who founded this Order in India.[2] His piety, profound devotion and spiritual greatness are established facts. Like his predecessors he continued such traditions as the acceptance of government posts and rich presents. He also accepted the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* under Iletmish.[3] He possessed great wealth and when he died he left millions of rupees.[4] The saints of this Order, like the Chishtiyas, were fond of *Sama'* (mystic music) and were ardent patrons of music. According to tradition Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya Multani was the inventor of many Indian airs, including *Puriya Dhanasri* and *Rag Multani,* which trace their origin to Multan.[5] Shaikh Baha-u'd-din's sons and successors continued his traditions and also freely mixed with kings and accepted *Jagirs*. His son and successor, Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din, even married the divorced wife of Balban's son, Prince Muhammad, who was governor of Multan at that time. This resulted in embittered relations between the saint and the prince.[6] Another famous Suhrawardiya saint, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani, grandson of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya Multani, frequently visited the court of the Delhi Sultans and even accepted a *jagir* of one hundred villages from Sultan Muham-

[1] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 132.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32. *Siyar-u'l 'Arifin*, f. 22b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, "*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*," pp. 220-21.

[3] Another *khalifah* of this order, Shaikh Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznawi, also held the post of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* and freely entered the court of Sultan Iletmish. Also see Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 223.

[4] His granaries were so well stocked that even the Wali of Multan borrowed corn from him. See K. A. Nizami, *I.C. Calcutta*, October, 1948, p. 389.

[5] *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, p. 507. K. A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[6] K. A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-91.

mad bin Tughluq.[1] In the same way the saint, Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari, also known as Makhdum Jahanian *Jahan Gasht*, used to visit Delhi, where he was always a state guest.[2]

When Mongol invaders laid waste the western parts of the Sultanate of Delhi, a grievous blow was inflicted upon this *silsilah*. It was dispersed and lost its cohesion. Many of its mystics settled in the eastern parts of the Sultanate of Delhi and especially in Kara and Zafarabad. The first notable newcomers were Sayyid Makhdum Asad-u'd-din *Aftab-i-Hind* and Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din, *Chiragh-i-Hind*.[3] Both were disciples of Sayyid Rukn-u'd-din Rukn-i-'Alam Multani, and were great Suhrawardiya mystics and scholars who had come there with many disciples.[4] The later history of the Suhrawardiya Order of Zafarabad and Jaunpur is concerned with their successors and disciples, who flourished under the Sharqis. But before describing in detail the biographies and services of these disciples, we should like to devote some space to the two chief mystics mentioned above.

(A) *The Suhrawardiya Mystics of Zafarabad*

Makhdum Asad-u'd-din Aftab-i-Hind

He was born at Wasit in Iraq, in 661/1262.[5] His father's name was Miran Sayyid Taj-u'd-din. Along with his parents and other relatives such as Makhdum Zia-u'd-din Karwi and Sayyid Isma'il Karwi, he migrated from Wasit to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud of Delhi (1246-1266).[6] They stayed in Delhi for some time and afterwards left for Kara.[7]

[1] K. A. Nizami, *I.C. Calcutta*, p. 391. *Safinat-u'l-'Arifin*, f. 31b. He was a son of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif.

[2] K. A. Nizami, *I.C. Calcutta*, *op. cit.*

[3] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 7-14.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[7] *Ibid.*

Here he received his early education including initiation into the esoteric sciences from his maternal grandfather, Makhdum Zia-u'd-din Karwi.[1] He is said to have completed his education at the age of twenty.[2] Afterwards he went to Multan and became a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani.[3] He remained there for a few years and received the *khirqah-i-khilafat* ("mantle of spirituality"). Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din also entitled him *Aftab-i-Hind* (The Sun of India).[4] He then went to Delhi where he came into contact with Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and also received some instruction from him.[5] In order to propagate Islam in that part of the country, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din, his *Pir*, posted him at Zafarabad.[6] He came there with a multitude of his disciples and, passing through Kanth (District of Mirzapur) Sathen Deh (District of Allahabad) and Barnawi (District of A'zam Garh), he finally settled at Manachh Garh/ Zafarabad.[7] His prayer cells are still pointed out at these places.[8] He attained the very great age of a hundred and thirty-two years and died in 792/1390.[9] He left many disciples who continued his traditions.[10] He is said to have been a saint of miraculous powers.[11]

He was a profound scholar of *Tafsir* (commentary on the holy Quran), *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *Usul* (fundamental sciences), and also committed the holy Quran to memory.[12] He was a prolific writer. One of his treatises on spiritual discipline and

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 8.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1963, pp. 107-8.

[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 8.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

another book known by the name of *'Ishqiya* became famous.[1] He also composed poetry in Persian.[2] He was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din, son of Zia-u'd-din Zahid of Kara.[3] He was a *qari* (reciter of the Quran) and could recite the holy Quran in several different ways.[4] His face, it is said, beamed with such spiritual lustre that none dared to behold it.[5] His sons, Sayyid Nur-u'd-din, Sayyid Abi Muhammad and Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din Abul Gha'ib, were also noted saints and scholars.[6]

Some of the *mujahids* who had accompanied Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind and had settled in Zafarabad, were themselves considered Suhrawardiya mystics of great importance. Chief among these were Makhdum Qiyam-u'd-din Suhrawardi (d. 838/1434), Shaikh 'Alam Suhrawardi (d. 811/1408) and Miran Shah Suhrawardi.[7] The last named was supposed to have been an inhabitant of Syria. He had joined the Makhdum in Multan and had accompanied him on a campaign of Manachh Garh/Zafarabad (d. 850/1445).[8] Other important figures were Miran Shah Qalandar, Shaikh Chand Suhrawardi and Shah Muhammad. The former lived to the age of over a hundred and thirty years and died in 854/1450 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.[9] The latter was one of the successors of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind to whom he used to send his disciples for preliminary training before their initiation. He was considered a saint of great piety. He died in 817/1434 and was buried in Aftab-i-Hind's graveyard.[10] The

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 10.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 105.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

account of Aftab-i-Hind's associates and disciples will follow later.

Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din Chiragh-i-Hind

Like Makhdum *Aftab-i-Hind,* he is also one of those earlier saints who propagated Islam before the germination of the Sharqi dynasty in this part of the country. His numerous *khalifahs* carried on his work here.

He was a descendant of the first *khalifah* of Islam, *i.e.,* Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddiq, and was of the same lineage as Shaikh Hasan Basri.[1] His grandfather, Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din 'Ali Shah, had migrated to Multan, where Sadr-u'd-din was born in 705/1305.[2] He was a great scholar of esoteric and exoteric subjects and also committed to memory the holy Quran.[3] He was initiated into mysticism by his cousin, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani, who entitled him *Chiragh-i-Hind,* and commissioned him to propagate Islam in the eastern regions of Hindustan.[4] He arrived there with his bands of *mujahids,* took part in the campaign of Manachh Garh/Zafarabad against Saket Singh Rathor, and liberated the Muslim population. There he joined the *mujahids* who had come there in the company of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind, and fought against the rebels. Having achieved success, he finally settled down at Zafarabad.[5] He had there a very successful life, both as a scholar and a saint, and propagated Islam in that part of the country. His prayer-cells are still pointed out at places such as Mirzapur, Banaras, and Jaunpur.[6] One of his wives is said to have been the divorced wife of Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din. He had inherited from his father the vast wealth of seven lakhs of rupees which he distributed among the poor.[7] He is said

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 11.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 57.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 12-13.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

to have gone on a pilgrimage on foot seven times.[1]

He also met the famous saint and scholar, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, when the latter visited Zafarabad.[2] It has been mentioned that Sayyid Samnani had in his caravan a great number of horses, camels and elephants. On reaching Zafarabad, he encamped in the Jami' Mosque. Makhdum Chiragh-i-Hind did not approve of this, and hinted his displeasure to Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani. At this the latter vacated the place in an angry mood and left for Kichaucha.[3]

Makhdum Chiragh-i-Hind was a saint of great fame and a man of *jalali* (awe-inspiring) disposition. Six of his disciples were always in attendance. He became a deeply spiritual man, so much so that in his last days he lived in ecstasy and did nothing else but say his prayers.[4] He had many disciples who later on settled in and around Zafarabad and carried on the Suhrawardiya traditions and also propagated Islam in that part of the country. His son, Shaikh Shah Shahr Ullah, who accompanied him on the campaign of Manachh Garh/Zafarabad, was also an eminent scholar as well saint of miraculous powers.[5] He died in 795/1392 and was buried at *muhalla* Shaikhuwarah, where his '*Urs* is celebrated every year.[6]

Makhdum Qiyam-u'd-din Suhrawardi

He was one of the chief disciples of Shaikh Aftab-i-Hind, and accompanied the latter to Zafarabad, where he built his residence on the bank of the river Gumti.[7] He was a Qureshi by descent. Before migrating to Zafarabad he had lived in Delhi where he had also been blessed by Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.[8] His

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 12.
[2] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 57.
[3] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 12-13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[8] *Ibid.*

piety was such that he devoted most of his time to prayer. At first he became a teacher of Islamic learning, but afterwards, he gave himself up entirely to spiritual disciplines.[1] He died in his prayer-cell in 817/1414 and was buried there. Later a mausoleum was built over this spot. It survives to the present day.[2] He was considered a great saint in Zafarabad, where he left many disciples.[3] His sons and grandsons were great scholars.

(B) *The Suhrawardiya Mystics of Jaunpur*

Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din Suhrawardi

He was one of the chief Suhrawardiya saints of Jaunpur, who after Timur's invasion migrated from Delhi to Jaunpur.[4] He was descended from the family of Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari.[5] His father, Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din, had come to Delhi and made his abode there, earning for himself a great reputation as a saint.[6] Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din first accepted the discipleship of Shaikh Baba Taj-u'd-din, a Suhrawardiya saint, and then that of Shaikh Jalal Bukhari *Surkhposh*.[7] He also received spiritual blessings at the hands of Makhdum Jahanian.[8]

He was renowned for his charity,[9] and was also a saint of miraculous powers.[10] His piety even attracted Qazi Shihab-u'd-din, Daulatabadi and Sultan Ibrahim and both the latter were

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 14-15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.* He even once gave away as alms his twelve year old son, Shaikh Jalal, to the *Qalandars*, so that they might sell him and fulfil their requirements. But Shaikh Jalal was later on bought back at a price of five hundred gold *muhar* by 'Imad-u'l-Mulk, the *Wazir* of Sultan Ibrahim, who also made him his son-in-law.

[10] Once he cured the seriously ill twelve year old son of a woman named Fatima only by reciting the name of God.

his followers.[1] Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din led a very successful life and left many disciples among whom Makhdum Shaikh Mankan and Shaikh Taj of Patan were pre-eminent.[2] He died in 874/1469 and was buried in the courtyard of the mosque of *muhalla* Tartala of Jaunpur.[3]

Makhdum Jahangir Suhrawardi

Shaikh Jalal was the eldest son of the late Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din Suhrawardi. He succeeded to his father's *gaddi.*[4] He erected a shrine on his father's grave and added to it a mosque and a monastery.[5] He died in 907/1504.[6] Afterwards his younger brother, Makhdum Jahangir, who had also been the disciple of his father, Makhdum Rukn-u'd-din, succeeded Shaikh Jalal, and continued the family tradition. He is also considered a notable saint of his time.[7] Sultan Husain Sharqi was very much attracted to him and often used to visit him.[8] He avoided popular gatherings, though he made an exception to attend the burial ceremony of Shaikh 'Isa Taj Chishti.[9] He lived quite a long life and died during the reign of Sikandar Lodi in 915/1509, and was buried in the courtyard of his father's shrine.[10] His son and disciple, Makhdum Shah Kabir Chishti, was also a renowned saint of his time and carried on the mystic traditions of his family[11]

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 33. Once the Qazi ordered him through his pupil, Shaikh 'Adil, to leave Jaunpur, as some of his actions were considered to be against *Shari'a*, but when the Qazi met him he became his follower. Hearing this, Sultan Ibrahim also believed in him.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal

He attained the great age of one hundred and twenty years and died in 808/1405, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who was also one of his followers.[1] He was also a renowned scholar and had complete command of all the subjects of *Shari'a.*[2] Sultan Ibrahim had much faith in him and erected a mosque adjacent to the royal residence for him. This mosque still stands today and is known by the name of Jhanjri Mosque.[3] Sayyid Ajmal also took part in the politics of his time and was equally esteemed by both high and low for his activities.[4] It is recorded that one night he saw in a dream the Prophet Muhammad and when he got up he found the prints of the former's feet in the place where he had dreamed he was standing. To commemorate this he immediately erected a prayer-cell. Afterwards he built a mosque on that spot, which is known by the name of Qadam Rasul, and still stands in *muhalla* Sipah of Jaunpur.[5] The date of his death is not known. He was buried near his monastery, where his tomb still stands—a place quite near to the tomb and *Baradari* of one *Shahzadah,* son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[6] The latter was one of his devotees.[7]

SECTION II

The Chishtiya Order

The Chishtiya Order flourished at about the same time in and around Zafarabad and Jaunpur. It differed in some respects from the Suhrawardiya Order. Whereas the mystics of the latter Order freely mixed with kings, accepted government posts, took part in politics and also amassed wealth, those of the

[1] *Tazkirah*, p. 72.
[2] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 50.
[3] *Ibid.* For further details, see Chapter VI.
[4] *Ibid. Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 136a.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 50.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

former Order divorced themselves entirely from worldly pursuits such as politics, *Shughl* (a medieval term for government service) and riches.[1] The devotees of this Order practised *Chilla, i.e.,* praying for forty days and nights confined to a cell in the corner of a mosque.[2] They also believed in communion through visits to the tombs of holy men, who, according to the mystics, never die, but rather depart from one abode to another.[3] Like the Suhrawardiya, they considered *Sama'* (mystic music) as essential to inducing spiritual ecstasy.[4] They considered the society of the kings dangerous to the spiritual life, as it inhaled the infection of worldly love and ambition, and refused to visit them or receive them in their monasteries except under duress.[5] They refused to accept government offices or gifts from kings and noblemen, or did so with great reluctance, and promptly distributed the gifts among the poor, leaving a minimum for themselves. They depended mostly on the cultivation of waste lands and thus always escaped any contact with the government. They permitted their disciples, however, to accept service.

This Order was founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami (ob. 940) who after migrating from Asia Minor had settled down at Chisht, a village near Herat.[6] The first Chishtiya saint who entered India in the company of Mahmud Ghaznawi was Khwaja Abu Muhammad bin Abi Ahmad Chishti.[7] The one who in a real sense founded this Order was Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Sijistan (b. 1142),[8] He received his initial training from Khwaja 'Usman Chishti Haruni.[9] During the reign of Prithvi Raj he

[1] K. A. Nizami, *I.C.*, XXII, No. 4, 1948, p. 388.

[2] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, III, No. 3, 1963, p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 72. *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-Chisht*, p. 131. *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics during the Thirteenth Century*, p. 58.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-42.

[9] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 140.

migrated to India.[1] When he reached Lahore, he practised *Chilla* at the shrine of Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri *Data Ganj Bakhsh,* the author of the famous *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub.*[2] He settled in Ajmer and died there in 1236.[3]

Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti was a great saint, who established this Order on very sound foundations and whose disciples carried on his traditions both in India and in foreign lands. His two disciples, Pir Karim in Ceylon and Shaikh Ala Dad Kirman in Bengal, established a branch of the *silsilah* in their respective abodes.[4] His chief disciple, Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, established this Order in the vicinity of Delhi.[5] The latter's disciple, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din *Ganj-i-Shakar,* established this Order at Patan (Pak-Patan), in Panjab.[6]

Shaikh Farid-u'd-din's two chief *khalifahs,* Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, were men of great spirituality and are considered to be amongst some of the greatest of Indo-Muslim mystics, who further enriched this Order's sound traditions in and outside Delhi.[7] Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din's chief *khalifah* and successor, Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, the author of *Khair-u'l-Majalis* (1325-56), spread this Order far and wide.[8]

At this stage Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din *Chiragh,* his disciples and his colleagues suffered great hardships at the hands of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[9] He urged them to migrate to Daulat-

[1] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, pp. 142-43.
[2] *Safinat-u'l-'Arifin*, ff. 21.
[3] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, f. 15b.
[4] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 140.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.
[7] *Ibid. Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, f. 195a.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5. Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Zardari, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar and Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh were asked by Muhammad bin Tughluq to go as missionaries to different parts of his empire. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh accompanied him on the campaign of Gujarat and Sind, and this affected the prestige of the Chishtiya saints. For details see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 71-73.

abad and also assigned to them state duties. Thus many *khalifahs* of Shaikh Chiragh and his contemporaries left for other provincial towns of India. At the advance of Timur and after the sack of Delhi, the rest followed suit and also migrated to provincial towns of Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and Jaunpur, which were now building themselves up as strong monarchies. Jaunpur took a lead in this respect, in the first instance because it was nearer to Delhi, and secondly owing to the benevolent patronage of the Sharqis as compared with that of their contemporaries in other parts of the country. Here sought refuge not only the Chishtiya saints of Delhi, but also those from foreign lands, who were refugees from the Mongol invasions. Because of their arrival various new centres came into being at places such as Zafarabad, Jaunpur, Manikpur, Kichaucha, Kalpi, Kintur, Lucknow, Iraj and Awadh.

It is noteworthy that Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh was the last of the great Chishtiya saints, for after him the Order suffered an eclipse.

Here follow the chief biographies and works of the Chishtiya saints who lived and flourished at various centres in the jurisdiction of the Sharqis.

(A) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Jaunpur*

Khwaja Abul Fath

He is one of the chief saints of the Chishtiya Order in Jaunpur whose reputation spread far and wide during his lifetime. His father's name was Shaikh 'Abul Hai and his grandfather was Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir.[1] He was born in Delhi in 772/1370.[2] His grandfather, who was also his *Pir*, took a keen interest in him and brought him up with great care, and instructed him in

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 170. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 395. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 457a. *Safinat-u'l-Auliya*, p. 36.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 170.

all subjects.[1] He attained competence in the various subjects of *Shari'a* as well as mysticism. He was a fluent speaker and a forceful debater who achieved a persuasive style both in his lectures and in his writings. He was a poet, too, and wrote *qasa'id* and poems both in Arabic and Persian.[2] He led a very pious life, lived in absolute *tawakkul* and was credited with miracles.[3] Later on, on account of the invasion of Timur, he migrated to Jaunpur where the reigning king, Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, became one of his devotees.[4] The Khwaja led a very simple life and it is said that he contented himself with dry bread only, but those who assembled at his hermitage always had excellent dishes.[5]

Qazi Shihab-u'd-din was his contemporary and with him Khwaja Abul Fath had many theological debates.[6] He had many disciples, chief among whom were Shaikh Muhammad Ab Kash Darya-abadi, and Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din Bijnori, who were great saints and scholars of their time.[7] Some of the Khwaja's utterances were noted down by his disciples. It is said that Khwaja Abul Fath collected the memoirs of his grandfather, Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir, which are extant to-day.[8] He died on 13th Rabi' I, 858/23rd March, 1454, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.[9] His shrine and his monastery are in *muhalla* Sipah of Jaunpur.[10]

Shaikh 'Isa Taj Chishti

He was one of the renowned saints of Jaunpur. His father, Ahmad 'Isa, one of the nobles of Delhi, had migrated to Jaunpur

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 457b.

[2] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 395. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 170.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 457b.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, op. cit. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 396. He accompanied Qazi Shihab-u'd-din on this journey to Jaunpur.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 456b.

[6] *Ibid.*, f. 457b.

[7] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 21.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 164.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 170. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 396. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 21.

[10] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 21.

after the invasion of Timur.[1] Shaikh 'Isa was only seven or eight years old when he came to Jaunpur. Here he first became a student of Shaikh Abul Fath and then of Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi who taught him all the esoteric subjects.[2] The Qazi took a great interest in his education. It is mentioned that the learned Qazi also wrote for him the commentary on *Bazdawi.*[3]

Afterwards he became a disciple of Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhi and learned from him further esoteric as well as exoteric knowledge and also received from him *khirqah-i-khilafat.*[4] His eldest brother, Shaikh Ahmad, who was also the *khalifah* of Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhi, lived in Bihar where his shrine is a great centre of attraction to the local people.[5]

Since his boyhood Shaikh 'Isa Taj had been a man of pious nature, who prayed and practised mysticism to such an extent that his chin was permanently turned towards his chest.[6] It is mentioned that he practised his mystic pursuits for twelve years in the same manner and only at the time of his prayers used to leave his prayer-cell.[7] It was also his habit to keep his head down and he never looked at people. He lived a solitary life for forty years and spent his life in *tawakkul.*[8] Once Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi sent him clothes and some other presents, which he returned with an answer in couplet form that, "I prefer my simple garments to grand clothes and I do not want the wealth and even the country of Prophet Sulaiman to relieve me of my cares."[9] Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Mahmud Sharqi had great

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 485a.

[2] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 411. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 255a. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 21-22.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 485a. *Tazkirah*, p. 205. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 255a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 411.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 380-491. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 255a.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 485a.

[6] *Ibid. Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 255a. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175.

[7] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 22.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

regard for him and the latter built for him a Jami' Mosque adjacent to his monastery, which was afterwards completed by Sultan Husain Sharqi.[1]

He died in 845/1441 and was buried in *muhalla* Arzan near the Jami' Mosque; here later on a grand tomb was built by Junaid Barlas.[2] He had many disciples among whom Shaikh Bodhan of Acholi and Muizz-u'd-din were renowned.[3] Also his son-in-law, Shaikh Hasan Tahir Chishti, and the latter's son, Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Chishti, known as Shah Khiyali, were renowned saints. He was a noted poet and wrote poetry in both Arabic and Persian, though mostly in the former.[4]

Shaikh Shams-u'l-Haqq Bari Haqqani

He was one of the chief disciples of Shaikh 'Isa Chishti.[5] His behaviour towards all people was that of a righteous person and on account of this he became known as Bari Haqqani.[6] At the age of eighteen he had completed his education in the various subjects of the *shari'a* and mysticism.[7] He regularly delivered lectures on the subjects of Islam and earned a great reputation as a successful preacher.[8] Many nobles of the Sharqis and other people regularly attended his lectures. He was a keen listener to mystic music which often overwhelmed him with ecstasy. Shaikh Mubarak Banarsi, a reputed saint of Banaras, was his brother. He lived for one hundred and thirty years and died at Jaunpur in 950/1543.[9] He was buried in *muhalla* Arzan, where his

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 23.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 175, mentions his date of death as 845/1441 and *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, as 911/1505, but *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 23-24 as 870/1465 on the authority of *Ganj-i-Rashidi*.

[3] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 485b.

[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 23.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[9] *Ibid.*

shrine still stands.[1] He left many disciples who successfully continued his tradition.

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Chishti

He was descended from the family of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri.[2] To his family belonged many respected Shaikhs and nobles of Jaunpur. He was a student and disciple of Shaikh I'sa Taj Chishti,[3] but he received his *khirqah-i-khilafat* from Sayyid Raji Hamid Shah.[4] He was renowned for his renunciation, truthfulness and piety, and was pre-eminent as a holy man of his time who was held in great esteem.[5] When he was overpowered by ecstatic bliss on hearing mystic music, even ten men were not sufficient to hold him.[6] Sultan Husain Sharqi had a great regard for him and built a monastery for him.[7] He attained an age of more than one hundred years and died in 947/1540.[8] His shrine stands in *muhalla* Adhan Shah of Jaunpur. He left many disciples and one of his sons, Shaikh Adhan Jaunpuri, was a renowned saint of his time.[9]

Shaikh Adhan Chishti

He was the son of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Jaunpuri who himself instructed him in various branches of learning and trained him spiritually.[10] Though a learned scholar, Shaikh Adhan never taught, but spent his whole life studying religious and spiritual

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 192. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 299a. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 192.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 192.

[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 28.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, but *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar* mentions his date of death as 14th Jamadi I, 911/1505.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 226. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 431-32. *Safinat-u'l-Auliya*, p. 192. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, f. 299b.

subjects and practising mysticism.[1] He was a *murid* (disciple) of his own father and as a saint of the Chishtiya Order earned a great name.[2] His contemporaries, Makhdum Jalal-u'l-Haqq Qazi Khan Nasihi Zafarabadi, Makhdum Sayyid Darwesh 'Ali, Muhammad Mahmud Zafarabadi and Makhdum Sayyid 'Ali, all held him in high regard and considered him *Shaikh-u'l-Shuyukh* of his time.[3] He lived a very long life of more than one hundred years, but, in spite of his age, he looked very young and even in his declining years used to say his prayers standing.[4] He was very fond of mystic music.[5] He had sons of seventy and eighty years of age who, like him, had white beards, and sometimes it became difficult to differentiate between father and sons.[6] He died in 970/1562 and was buried in a *muhalla,* also known by his name of Shaikh Adhan, where the erection of his shrine was afterwards supervised by Mirza Badu Beg at the order of Mun'im Khan *Khan-i-Khanan.*[7] Some of his descendants still live in Jaunpur and others in Salun.[8]

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Ashraf/Shaikh Farid Chishti

He is also known as Shaikh Farid.[9] He was descended from the family of Hazrat 'Umar, the second Caliph.[10] His grandfather, Bandagi Khalil, migrated from Arabia to India.[11] Shaikh Farid received his education in Banaras where he also afterwards accepted the discipleship of Khwaja Mubarak Banarsi, a disciple of Shaikh 'Isa Chishti.[12] He also went on a pilgrimage to Mecca

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur,* I: 29.
[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar,* p. 226.
[3] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* pp. 431-32. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar,* f. 299b.
[4] *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar,* f. 299b.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar,* p. 226. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* p. 432. *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar,* f. 300a. *Tajalli-i-Nur,* I: 30-31.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.,* I: 25.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

a number of times, and afterwards, according to his *Pir*, Shaikh 'Isa Taj Chishti, he settled down in Jaunpur where he spent the rest of his life preaching and practising the mystic disciplines of the *Chishtiya* Order during the reign of Mahmud and Husain Sharqi.[1] For some time he was also a royal counsellor of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. The date of his death is not known, but his shrine still stands in *muhalla* Shah Ganj of Jaunpur to this day.[2]

Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Lajuri Chishti

He came from a Sayyid family. He received the *khirqah-i-khilafat* from Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz.[3] He was a great scholar and at the same time a saint of miraculous powers.[4] Sometimes he was found acting according to *shari'a* and at other times in an ecstatic condition.[5] He was a remarkable teacher and taught many who rose to eminent positions later on. He attained high skill in Indian music.[6] He also wrote poetry of considerable merit.[7] He had a great love of birds and it is recorded that on the anniversary of his birth, children in order to commemorate him used to throw grains to the birds, after reciting holy verses over them.[8] He attained an age of more than one hundred years and died in 887/1482.[9] He was buried in *muhalla* Balwa-ghat of Jaunpur.[10]

Shaikh Hasan Tahir Chishti

He was one of the renowned shaikhs of Jaunpur. His father, Shaikh Zahir, went there to study from Multan and became a

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 25.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 48. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 225.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 225.
[6] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 40.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

student of Shaikh Bari Haqqani Zafarabadi.[1] Afterwards he settled in Bihar, where Shaikh Hasan was born.[2] But Shaikh Hasan was brought up and educated in Jaunpur.[3] He spent most of his youth in studying and also profited from the company of contemporary saints.[4] He was married to the daughter of Shaikh 'Isa Taj, who also took a great interest in his scholastic and mystic pursuits.[5] When he had completed this course and understood the philosophy of *Tauhid,* his father invited some scholars to cross-examine him; he stood the test very successfully.[6] As Raji Hamid Shah's reputation was very great in those days, Shaikh Hasan accepted his discipleship. It is said that Shaikh Hasan was Raji Hamid Shah's first disciple and also one of his best.[7] He wrote many books and treatises, the best known being *Rasalah Miftah-u'l-Faiz.*

Barbak Shah of Jaunpur was reputedly his disciple. When Barbak Shah rebelled against Sikandar Lodi, he asked the Shaikh to pray for him for the throne of Delhi, but Shaikh Hasan advised him to rid himself of this false ambition and to obey his elder brother, Sikandar Lodi.[8] The latter had great regard for Shaikh Hasan and invited him to Agra, but Shaikh Hasan preferred to live in Delhi, where he died in 909/1503.[9] One of his younger sons, Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-'Aziz, was also a reputed scholar and saint of Jaunpur.[10]

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Tazkirah*, p. 47, is mistaken in writing his father's name as Tahir. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 40-41, also commits the same mistake.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Tazkirah*, p. 47.

[3] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190.

[4] *Ibid. Tazkirah*, p. 47.

[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 409.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 409-10. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 112b. *Jami'-u'l-Auliya*, f. 5b.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 409-10. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 42-43.

[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 190. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 410.

[10] *Ibid. Tazkirah*, p. 47. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 42, mentions his date of death as 910/1504. *Jami'-u'l-Auliya*, f. 6a.

Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Chishti

He is also known by the name of Shah Khiyali. He was the eldest son and at the same time a disciple of Shaikh Hasan Tahir Chishti, and was also a grandson of Shaikh 'Isa Taj Chishti.[1] He is considered to be one of the notable saints of his time. He spent many years as a mujawar in Madna.[2]

Though he was an adherent of the Chishtiya Order he had obtained *khirqah-i-khilafat* from one of the *shaikhs* of the *Qadiriya* Order of Yemen.[3] He spent most of his time in practising mystic pursuits. He left many disciples, pre-eminent among whom were Shaikh 'Abdur Razzaq and Shaikh Fazl Ullah Dehlawi, also known as Shaikh Manjhan. Later he migrated to Delhi with his father, where he died in 944/1537, and was buried at the back of his father's shrine.[4]

Shah Ajmeri Chishti

He migrated from Delhi to Jaunpur during the reign of the Sharqis, where he lived in a *muhalla* now known by the name of Ajmeri.[5] He was a profound scholar and a mystic.[6] He died in Jaunpur where his descendants still live, but unfortunately no further details of his life have come to light.[7]

Shaikh Ma'ruf Chishti

His father, Shaikh 'Arif, also known as Sher Sawar, was a descendant of Shaikh Jalal Bukhari, who had migrated to Jaunpur from his native country owing to unavoidable circumstances.[8] There he led a very simple life. His tomb still stands in the village

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 43-44. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, ff. 112a-113a.
[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 228. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 415. *Tazkirah*, p. 185.
[3] *Tazkirah*, p. 185. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 415.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 416. *Tazkirah*, p. 185. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 43.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 50.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, I: 51. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 192, 277.

of Pekariya-pur on the road to Allahabad near Jaunpur.[1]

Shaikh Ma'ruf was born in Jaunpur and was a student of the famous scholar, Maulana Ilah Dad, from whom he learned all the esoteric and exoteric subjects as well as various spiritual disciplines.[2] Later on he became a noted saint of his time. He followed assiduously his spiritual pursuits and it is recorded that he remained in his prayer-cell for thirty years, and never came out of it to come into contact with worldly affairs.[3] He left many disciples. Among them Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Ambaihti and Ahmad Zain Jaunpuri were profound scholars and highly respected mystics.[4] One of his grandsons, Khwaja Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din, was a notable mystic and scholar whose lectures attracted many scholars.[5] Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din's son, Khwaja Shaikh Abu Saeed, was also a scholar and mystic who had many disciples.[6]

Shaikh Daniyal Khizri

He was a teacher of the renowned Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the Mahdawiya Movement in India. His father, Shaikh Hasan ibn-i-Husam-u'd-din Balkhi, was from Balkh.[7] In his childhood Shaikh Daniyal had enjoyed every worldly comfort, but for some reason he left his native country afterwards and migrated to India.[8] He settled for some time in Delhi where he was in government service, but one day his spiritual thirst urged him to go to Manikpur.[9] Here he lived and prayed for some time in a lonely cell, but his dissatisfaction made him leave for Banaras.[10]

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 192, 277. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 51.
[2] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 192.
[3] *Ibid. Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 51.
[4] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 192, 277.
[5] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 51.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

At Banaras while he was practising his mystic pursuits, one day Hazrat Khizr appeared to him, and adorned him with *khirqah-i-khilafat.*[1] Apart from that he also became a disciple of Sayyid Raji Hamid Shah Manikpuri and was also blessed spiritually by Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti Ajmeri.[2] He came to Jaunpur during the reign of Sultan Husain Sharqi.[3]

Shaikh Daniyal was a most renowned scholar and saint of his time.[4] He was a profound teacher and some of his students attained outstanding fame. Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and his brother, Sayyid Ahmad, were both his pupils and disciples. Whereas the former founded the Mahdawiya sect, the latter succeeded Sayyid Daniyal Khizri and continued his traditions.[5] Sayyid Ahmad was a learned scholar who also entitled himself Khizri, and his descendants continued to bear this name.[6] He had a large number of followers and disciples in and around Jaunpur. He was also a renowned Hindi poet. Shaikh Daniyal was reputed to have miraculous powers. He expired in 994/1537 on the day he had forecast, and was buried near the Hauz-i-Khas at the back of the tomb of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.[7]

Sayyid Sadr-u'd-din Shah Zahidi Chishti

The early years of his life were spent in government service and during that period he amassed a huge amount of wealth.[8] Afterwards he forsook all worldly affairs, distributed all his wealth among the poor, and concentrated his attention on spiritual discipline.[9] He went to Manikpur and accepted discipleship from Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri and practised the religious

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 56.
[2] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 443.
[3] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 57.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 443. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 120a. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 57.
[6] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, p. 57.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

life with the utmost dedication till he secured his Caliphal mantle.[1] Later on he moved to Jaunpur where he became a notable saint. He was a poet, too, and his favourite theme in this connection was love.[2] One of his brothers, Sayyid Badr-u'd-din, was also a great scholar and saint of Bihar.[3] He died in 933/1526 and was buried in the *muhalla* Mulla Tola in Jaunpur.[4]

(B) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Manikpur*

Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri

He was one of the chief mystics of the Chishtiya Order connected with this period. He was the son of Maulana Khwaja, who was a great saint and scholar during this period at Manikpur.[5] Shaikh Husam-u'd-din's grandfather, Maulana Jalal-u'd-din, had also been a great saint and learned scholar of his time, and had led a very pious life.[6] He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad, who himself was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.[7] He had migrated from Delhi to Manikpur where he used to deliver lectures on Islam. Shaikh Husam-u'd-din after finishing his literary education in Manikpur went to Panduah, where he lived for some time and accepted discipleship from Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam. Afterwards he became the principal *khalifah* of Shaikh Qutb-u'l-'Alam.[8] On his return to Manikpur he also profited from Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Manikpuri, and enjoyed the warm friendship of Shah 'Abdullah Shattari, *i.e.*, the founder of the Shattariya Order in India.[9] His greatness as a saint can be judged from the fact that his *Pir*, Shaikh Qutb-u'l-'Alam, wished

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 52.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, I: p. 53.
[4] *Ibid. Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 116b.
[5] *Tazkirah*, p. 46.
[6] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 173. *Tazkirah*, p. 41.
[7] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 501a.
[8] *Tazkirah*, p. 46. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 501b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 400. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, ff. 34-35. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 111b.
[9] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 501-2.

him to put the *khirqah* on his (Qutb-u'l-'Alam's) son and successor, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq. It became a tradition for the sons and successors of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din to put the *khirqah* on the sons and successors of Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq.[1] His *Malfuzat*, known by the name of *Rafiq-u'l-'Arifin*, afterwards collected by one of his disciples, throw light on his career as well as on cultural conditions of that time.[2] Shaikh Husam-u'd-din was a unique saint of his time, and led a very successful life. He died in 1477 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.[3] At the time of his death he called for his son, Qazi Shah, and gave him the certificate of succession.[4] It is said that Sayyid Raji Hamid Shah was present on that occasion and at once brought his six-months old son, Sayyid Nur, and made him a disciple of Qazi Shah.[5] At this Shaikh Husam-u'd-din said that whatever spiritual wealth he had, he gave to his own son and that this wealth was shared by Sayyid Raji's son, *i.e.*, Sayyid Nur.[6] Shaikh Husam-u'd-din taught the mystic disciplines to many disciples, notable among whom were Shaikh Kamal, also known as Shaikh Kalu,[7] Raji Hamid Shah, and Shah Sayyidu.

Shaikh Raji Hamid Shah Manikpuri

He was a disciple of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri, as mentioned above.[8] The author of *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, mentions that during the reign of Sultan Iletmish two Sayyid brothers migrated from Gardiz to Delhi.[9] One of them was Sayyid Shams-

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 500-501.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, ff. 34-35. *Tazkirah*, p. 47.

[3] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 500-501. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 401.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 503a.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 401. Shaikh Kalu is said to have been one of the wisest and most pious persons of his time. He lies buried in Kara. See *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 174, for further details.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 409. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 44b.

[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189.

u'd-din, who afterwards went to Bayana in Mewat and settled there. The other was Sayyid Shihab-u'd-din, who remained in Delhi.[1] He was the ancestor of Sayyid Raji Hamid Shah and was greatly respected by the local people, who as an expression of their esteem for him, started calling him Raji. This same title was later adopted by his successors.[2] Raji Hamid Shah was originally a professional soldier, but feeling the call to a spiritual life he abandoned all worldly affairs, and entered the discipleship of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din of Manikpur.[3] It is said that though Raji Hamid Shah was not a scholar, yet he could talk and discuss with the learned.[4] He practised spiritual discipline and prayed very hard until he received the *khirqah-i-khilafat* from his Shaikh. It is mentioned that whenever he wanted to give advice or impart some spiritual experience to his disciples, he would allude to an incident in some other person's life, from which the listeners could discern the moral.[5]

He died in 904/1495 and was buried in Manikpur.[6] He is believed to have attained miraculous powers. His son, Raji Sayyid Nur, was also a notable saint.[7] Makhdum Hasan Tahir Chishti and Daniyal Chishti were two eminent disciples of his. To hide his identity he used to don the dress of a soldier.[8] He is also buried at Manikpur.[9]

Shah Sayyidu Manikpuri

Before entering this mystic Order, he had been in government service and had collected a huge amount of wealth.[10] After-

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 409.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 112a.
[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 409.
[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189.
[6] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 409.
[7] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 40.
[10] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 415.

wards, however, he experienced spiritual awakening and went to Manikpur, there accepting discipleship from Shaikh Husam-u'd-din, from whom he also received *khirqah-i-khilafat,*[1] The author of *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* mentions that Shah Sayyidu's spiritual pursuits also affected his beloved, and transformed her too into a saint and she joined him as well.[2] His saintly life and spiritual ecstasy obliterated his awareness of temporal concerns. He was a poet and was very fond of mystic music.[3] His shrine is in Fathpur Hansora, which is quite near to Manikpur.[4] He died in 933/1526.[5]

Maulana Shaikhan Manikpuri

He committed to memory the holy Quran, and led a very solitary life. He had a good number of followers who often came to pay homage to him.[6] It is said that if anyone ever brought food to him, he would take a morsel, and return the rest.[7] He always asked his visitors about their personal affairs, such as their lands or cultivation or their oxen, among other things.[8] Once Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Manikpuri, who was his contemporary, asked him why he questioned them about these things instead of discussing mystic matters. His reply was that they do not have knowledge of such things and so he found it wise to relieve them by asking them about their personal problems. On returning home, they would discuss these and, in so doing, would feel a sense of pride and also divine pleasure.[9]

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 189.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 502b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asrar*, I: 415.

[4] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 502b.

[5] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 415.

[6] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 174.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

(C) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Kichaucha*

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani

He was a man of many virtues and a saint of deep spirituality, whose many miraculous deeds have been recorded by many chroniclers.[1] He propagated Islam in and outside India. He was widely travelled and visited many religious and cultural centres of India and of the Middle-Eastern countries, gaining much knowledge from there. He influenced thousands by virtue of his spiritual experiences, writings and personal example.

He originally came from Samnan and was the son of Sultan Ibrahim, the ruler of that place, who belonged to the family of the Nur Bakhsh Sayyids.[2] Sayyid Ashraf was very intelligent, and committed the holy Quran to memory in seven different styles of recitation at the age of seven, and at the age of fourteen he had completed all the subjects of *Shari'a.*[3] He was well-versed in *Tafsir* and *Hadis* and was also acquainted with the sayings of the companions of the holy Prophet.[4] After his father's death, he succeeded to the throne, but he took little interest in his royal duties and used to spend most of his time in the company of saints and especially that of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din 'Ala-u'l-Daula Samnani.[5] One night Hazrat Khizr appeared to him in a dream and advised him to occupy his mind sometimes with the affairs of the Sultanate, and also suggested to him that he should perform some *waza'if* (religious practices).[6] Sayyid Ashraf practised those *waza'if* for two years. Then, taking a cue from a dream, he resolved to abdicate in favour of his brother and proceed to India to become a disciple of Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq Bengali. When he asked the permission of his mother, Khadijah Begum,

[1] *Karamat-u'l-Auliya*, ff. 283b, 300b.

[2] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 371-72.

[3] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431a.

[4] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431a. *Tazkirah*, p. 23. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 161-62.

[6] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

a lady of pious descent, she affirmed that she had been already intimated through a dream that one of her sons would be a celebrated saint.[1] Then absolving him from all claims, she gave him permission to start on his spiritual adventure.[2] Sayyid Ashraf, then twenty-three, left Samnan for India. His spiritual guide, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Daula Samnani, accompanied him on his journey for some miles, then separated from him once and for all after giving him some sound advice.[3] Many of his followers and countrymen accompanied him as far as Samarqand.[4]

He first reached Uchch, where he spent some time in the company of Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari and obtained many blessings at his hands.[5] Then he reached Delhi, where he paid homage to many holy shrines of Chishtiya saints and met many living saints.[6] From there he went to Bihar, where at that time Sharif-u'd-din Yahya Maneri had just expired and the Sayyid was thus able to join in his burial prayers.[7] Next he set off in the direction of Bengal. At Panduah, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq and his disciples and followers came out to receive him and, in order to give him a very warm welcome, they took him to the monastery.[8] Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq showed him great affection. One day he took him to his own prayer-cell and taught him all the rules and regulations of the Chishtiya *Silsilah*.[9] Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, who was then twenty-seven years of age, prayed and diligently practised the mystic exercises for four years till his Pir, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq, presented him with the Caliphal robe, the same one which had once been offered to him (Shaikh

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431a.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 431b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

[3] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431b.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

[6] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431b.

[7] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 161. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 371.

[9] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 431b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 372.

'Ala-u'l-Haqq) by his Pir, Shaikh Akhi Sarang.[1] He then appointed him spiritual head of the area of Zafarabad and Jaunpur.[2] Sayyid Ashraf settled in Kichaucha, a town quite near to Jaunpur.[3] For two months he lived there and gained many disciples. Afterwards he started travelling in and outside India, where he met many other saints, received blessings from them and at the same time won thousands of followers. At Zafarabad he met Makhdum Sadr-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind,* and Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Kabir.[4] In Jaunpur he met Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi, and lived there for a few months.[5] This stay at Jaunpur proved very successful, for he gained there many followers, including some from the royal family. Qazi Shihab-u'd-din is said to have received *khirqah* from him.[6] Then he went to Bihar where he met Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Awadhi at Maner.[7] He also went to Kalpi/Mahmudabad where he delivered lectures, extolling the *khilafat-i-Rashidah,* taught the public the basic principles of Islam, and was thus able to overcome the forces of heterodoxy.[8] He made here many disciples and followers.

It is said that wherever he went he was always accompanied by a good number of followers, including *Qalandars* and *Faqirs,* and also a good number of horses and camels which were laden with their equipment.[9] Wherever he went, he delivered sermons on Islam and became very popular. He adorned Kichaucha with gardens and monasteries, and established there an institution of Islamic learning and renamed it Ruhabad.[10] He also went to Arabia on a pilgrimage and on his return journey visited many

1 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, 432a.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.* Kichaucha lies fifty miles S.E. of Faizabad in the same district.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, ff. 432-33. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 373.

6 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 433b.

7 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 432b.

8 *Ibid.*, f. 432b.

9 *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 375. It is said that Shah Madar accompanied him on his journey to Mecca.

10 *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 432b.

countries of the Middle East.[1] He went to Baghdad, Najaf, Karbla and Rum (Turkey) and in the last named place he met the successor of Maulana Rumi.[2] Then he went to pay homage at Damascus where he met many saints and scholars from Egypt and the Yemen and benefitted by their company.[3] He also visited his original country, Samnan.[4] In Mashhad he visited the holy shrine of Imam 'Ali Musa Reza and here also met Timur, who had gone there to pay homage.[5] Afterwards he went to Herat and from there to Ma wara' u'n-nahr (Transoxiana) where he encountered Khwaja Baha-u'd-din Naqshbandi. He lived with him for some time and finally received the *khirqahs*. During his visit to Turkistan he met the sons of Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi.[6] Then *via* Kabul and Qandhar he reached Multan and Ajodhan, where he paid homage at the shrines of holy saints of the said places.[7] He also went to Delhi, Ajmer and the Deccan and in the last named he paid homage at the shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz.[8] The author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* writes that he also went to Gujarat and Sarandip where he delivered sermons on the subjects of Islam and made many followers.[9] Thus he went from village to village and city to city to preach Islam. These travels have been described in his famous book, *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi*.

He finally spent twelve years in the services of his *Pir*, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq Bengali, and after the death of the latter always paid homage to his son and successor, Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam.[10] Once the Hindus started a discussion at Banaras with Muslim scholars concerning religion in which Mir Samnani

1 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 433b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 375.
2 *Ibid.*, f. 433b. *Mir'at-u'l-Asarar*, f. 432b.
3 *Ibid.*, f. 433b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 375.
4 *Ibid.*, f. 434a.
5 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 434b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 376.
6 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 434a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 376.
7 *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 434a.
8 *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 376.
9 *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 434b.
10 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 434b.

took a prominent part and convinced them, and it is recorded that thousands of Hindus accepted Islam on this occasion.[1] His *Malfuzats*, known as *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi*, are well-known and shed light on the cultural, religious and social aspects of that period.[2] He attained the great age of one hundred and twenty years and died in 808/1405, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who was also one of his followers. His shrine at Kichaucha is still visited by thousands of the faithful every year.[3] To his office succeeded his adopted son, Shaikh 'Abdur-Razzaq.[4]

Sayyid 'Abdur-Razzaq

Shaikh Samnani never married.[5] Once in the presence of his *Pir*, Shaikh 'Ala-u'l-Haqq Bengali, he wished for a son who could continue his work after his death.[6] The Shaikh blessed him and said that he would have an adopted son.[7] The author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, mentions that on his journey through 'Iraq and Khurasan, Shaikh Samnani met one Sayyid Husain 'Abdul Ghafur, who belonged to the family of Husaini Sayyids as well as that of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani, and had married one of the daughters of Shaikh Samnani's aunts.[8] 'Abdul Ghafur had a son of twelve years of age. When Shaikh Samnani saw him, he liked him and adopted him as a son.[9] Then he brought him to Kichaucha, where he brought him up with all care and taught him all the esoteric as well as exoteric subjects and enabled him to become accomplished in all respects. After his adopted father's death he succeeded

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 434-35.

[2] Riaz-u'l-Islam, *J.P.H.S.*, III, part III, July 1955, p. 208. His letters were collected by some of his students and this book is a sort of combination of the *Malfuzat* and a biography of the saint.

[3] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 436-37.

[4] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 377. S. A. A. Rizvi, p. 53, is mistaken in giving the date of his death as 840/1436.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 478a.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, f. 478b.

[9] *Ibid.*

to the spiritual *gaddi.*[1]

Sayyid 'Abdur-Razzaq accompanied Shaikh Samnani on many travels and lived with him for sixty-eight years.[2] He was a disciple of his adopted father, to whose *gaddi* he succeeded.[3] He became a saint of a very high order and of many miraculous deeds.[4] He had five sons, who were accomplished saints and scholars and who carried on Shaikh Samnani's traditions in and around Jaunpur.[5] Sayyid 'Abdur-Razzaq died at the age of one hundred and twenty years and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Samnani.[6]

Shaikh Shah Lutf Ullah

He was one of the chief *khalifahs* of Shaikh Samnani, and was considered one of his great disciples, who carried on his traditions in the city of Jaunpur itself.[7] He was a great theologian and also made a deep study of mysticism.[8] After receiving the *khirqah-i-khilafat* from his Shaikh, Sayyid Samnani, he went to Jaunpur and lived there permanently.[9] He devoted all his life to prayer and the practice of mysticism and was often to be found in a condition of ecstatic bliss.[10] People often came to pay him homage, but he would never look at them. The date of his death is not known. His tomb lies in *muhalla* Hamam Darwazah behind the gate of Shah Rahmat Ali.[11]

1 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 377. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 478b.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, ff. 478. *Khazinat-u'l-Asrar*, I: 377.

5 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 479a. Their names were Sayyid Shams-u'd-din, Hasan, Husain, Farid, and Ahmad.

6 *Ibid.*, f. 479a.

7 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 55.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

(*D*) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Kalpi*

Maulana Khwajgi Kalpwi

He was one of the chief *khalifahs* of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh.[1] He was a student of Maulana Mu'in-u'd-din 'Umrani.[2] Maulana Khwajgi was a great scholar as well as a Chishtiya saint of very high merits.[3] The famous Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi was one of his chief *khalifahs.*[4] Maulana Khwajgi and Qazi Shihab-u'd-din travelled together while fleeing from Timur.[5] Qazi Shihab-u'd-din settled in Jaunpur, and Maulana Khwajgi went to Kalpi where he carried on his academic and spiritual pursuits.[6] He died in 819/1416 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[7] His tomb at Kalpi is still visited by thousands every year.[8]

Shaikh Ahmad Thanesari

He was a *khalifah* of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh and a contemporary of Maulana Khwajgi.[9] When Maulana Khwajgi fled to Kalpi before the invasion of Timur, the Shaikh did not accompany him.[10] During Amir Timur's invasion of Delhi Maulana Ahmad was arrested, but after an interview with Timur he was released and with his family left for Kalpi, where he joined Maulana Khwajgi.[11] Shaikh Ahmad Thanesari was an accomplished authority on the subjects of *Shari'a* and mysticism,[12] as well as a saint of miraculous powers.[13] He died in 820/1417

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 141. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, p. 227. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 378.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 141.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 379.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 142. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 379.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 379.

during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[1] His tomb in Kalpi is visited by thousands every year.[2]

Shaikh Abul Fath Kalpwi

He was one of the chief *khalifahs* of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz.[3] An accomplished scholar of all the esoteric and exoteric subjects,[4] he was also a prolific writer, who wrote more than twenty books on *Nahw* and *Tasawwuf*. His book *Awaraf-u'l-Ma'arif* is considered to be the best.[5] He also undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca.[6] His death occurred in 862/1457 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. His tomb is in Kalpi.[7]

(E) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Kintur*

Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Kisa Dar

He was one of the notable *khalifahs* of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh.[8] His father, Shaikh Mutawakkil, and Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani awarded him *khirqah-i-khilafat*.[9] Shaikh Sa'd Ullah was a saint of very high merit and led a very pious life.[10] He left many disciples among whom his son and successor, Shaikh 'An-u'd-din Qattal, was eminent.[11] He died in 806/1403, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[12]

It is said that once Hazrat Khizr met him and gave him a *kisa, i.e.*, a small bag full of money, which never became empty.[13]

1 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 379.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 371.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*

For this reason he is also known as *Kisa Dar, i.e.,* the one who always keeps a small bag with him.[1]

Shaikh 'An-u'd-din Qattal

He first became a disciple of Sayyid Amir Mah of Bahraich and practised spiritual pursuits under him till he became accomplished in all respects.[2] Afterwards he returned to Kintur and lived with his father. There he started practising *Malamtiya Silsilah.* When this annoyed some of the *'ulama* they reported him to his father, Shaikh Sa'd Ullah *Kisa Dar.*[3] Afterwards he abided by his father's rule and became the latter's disciple.[4] He received *khirqah-i-khilafat* from him and also succeeded to his *gaddi.*[5] The rest of his life he spent in obedience to *Shari'a* and became a renowned saint of his time.[6] He died in 822/1419 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. His tomb is in Kintur.[7]

(F) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Lucknow*

Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din Lakhnawi

First he became a *Khalifah* of Shaikh Mahmud Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh.[8] After the latter's death he went to Uchch, where he became a disciple of Jalal-u'd-din Makhdum Jahanian.[9] He was blessed with the gift of spiritual bliss and was also awarded *khirqah-i-khilafat.*[10] Shaikh Qawam was a highly cultured saint and led a very pious life. He was very fond of *Sama'* music.[11] It is said that Makhdum Jalal-u'd-din Uchchi had so much

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* I: 371.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 380.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 381.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 388.
[9] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar,* p. 152.
[10] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya,* I: 388.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 389.

faith in him that at the saint's suggestion he appointed his brother, Shaikh Raju Qattal, as his successor, instead of his son.[1] Shaikh Qawam was a saint of miraculous powers[2] and had many disciples among whom Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi succeeded to his *gaddi.*[3] He died at Lucknow in 840/1436 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[4] Thousands still visit his tomb at Lucknow every year.

Shaikh Sarang Lakhnawi

Before accepting Islam he belonged to a rich Hindu family.[5] It is mentioned in *Malfuzat-i-Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi* that his sister was married to Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Firoz Shah. Because of this he became one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad and was known as Malik Sarang.[6] It is said that the city of Sarang-pur was founded by him.[7] Once Makhdum Jalal-u'd-din Uchchi and Sayyid Sadr-u'd-din Raju Qattal visited Delhi at a time when Malik Sarang was still a young man. Sultan Firoz nominated him to serve the two *Shaikhs.* On that occasion he was blessed by Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Raju Qattal.[8] Afterwards Malik Sarang became a disciple of Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din Chishti.[9] When Sultan Mahmud Tughluq ascended the throne of Delhi, Malik Sarang resigned the royal services, sold his property and with his family left for Arabia.[10] After spending a few years as a *mujawir* at Mecca and Madina he returned to India,[11] and became a disciple of Shaikh Yusuf Budh Iraji, from

1 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 389.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152.

5 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 389.

6 *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 124a.

7 *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 124a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 389. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152.

8 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 389.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

whom he received *khirqah-i-khilafat.*[1] A few times he also visited his first teacher, Shaikh Qawam, at Lucknow. At the time of his death Shaikh Qawam left him his own *khirqah.*[2] Shaikh Raju Qattal also sent him the *khirqahs* of his ancestors.[3] Shaikh Sarang was a saint of very high merits. He died at Lucknow in 847/1443 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.

Shaikh Muhammad Mina Lakhnawi

His father, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din, was a disciple of Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din Chishti/Suhrawardi.[4] Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din brought up Shaikh Mina with as great a love as that with which he brought up his own son and also blessed him in his spiritual pursuits.[5] The Shaikh never married and spent most of his time in spiritual pursuits.[6] Afterwards he also became a disciple of Shaikh Sarang.[7] It is said that he was a saint of miraculous powers right from his childhood.[8] He died during the reign of Sultan Husain Sharqi, in 870/1965,[9] and is buried in Lucknow, where his tomb is a great centre of attraction even to this day.

(G) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Awadh*

Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhi

He was an accomplished scholar and for many years delivered lectures in the Jami' Mosque, Delhi.[10] Afterwards he became a disciple of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Hakim and practised spiritual pursuits for many years.[11] When he complained to his *Shaikh*

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 389.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid. Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 124b.
[4] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 398.
[5] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152. Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din named him Muhammad Mira in memory of his dead son who had loved that name.
[6] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 388-89.
[7] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 152.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 153. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 398.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 163. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 380.
[11] *Ibid.*

that he seemed to achieve nothing, he was advised to get rid of his books and practise only his spiritual disciplines.[1] Finally he succeeded and received *khirqah-i-khilafat* from Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Hakim.

Shaikh Fath Ullah was a renowned saint of his time and left many *khalifahs* among whom Shaikh Qasim Dehlawi and Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa Taj Jaunpuri were eminent.[2] Shaikh Shah Musa 'Ashiqin, *khalifah,* Makhdum Chiragh-i-Hind and Shaikh Jalal Gajari, *khalifah* of Muzaffar Balkhi, were his contemporaries.[3] He died in 821/1418 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and his tomb is at Awadh.[4]

Shaikh Jamal Gujri Awadhi

He was a *khalifah* of Shaikh Muzaffar Balkhi, himself a *khalifah* of Shaikh Yahya Maneri.[5] When he had received the *khirqah* his *Shaikh* ordered him to settle down in the city of Awadh.[6] He was on friendly terms with his contemporaries, Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhi and Shaikh Shah Musa 'Ashiqin, a disciple of Makhdum Chiragh-i-Hind.[7] He was also blessed by Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Haqq Rudaulwi, in whose company he travelled a great deal.[8] Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Haqq observes in his *Malfuzat* that the only proper Muslim he came across in his travels from Bhakkar to Panduah was Shaikh Gujri.[9] He had many disciples among

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 163. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 380.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 497a. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 133a.

[6] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 497a .

[7] *Ibid.*, f. 497a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 320.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 43b. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 185.

[9] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 497a. The author of *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 185, mentions that Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq had a bitch, which once bore many puppies. To celebrate this occasion he gave a party to all the great men of the city, but did not invite Shaikh Gujri. When the latter met him and demanded an explanation, Shaikh Jamal said that as it had been a party for a bitch, he had invited all the dogs, but as Shaikh Gujri was a man he had excluded him from the company.

whom Makhdum Shaikh Bhika, a resident of the village of Barli, was famous.[1] He died in 858/1454.

(H) *The Chishtiya Mystics of Iraj*

Qazi Sawi Chishti Iraji

He was one of the chief *khalifahs* of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud Chiragh.[2] He was an accomplished scholar as well as a saint of high merit and led a very pious life.[3] He left many disciples, among whom Khwaja Ikhtiyar-u'd-din 'Umar was eminent.[4] He died in 801/1399 during the reign of Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, and lies buried at Iraj.[5]

Khwaja Ikhtiyar-u'd-din 'Umar Iraji

The dependency of Iraj in the state of Mahmudabad/Kalpi was under the Sharqis for some time.[6] Here, too, during this period, many saints flourished, two of whom are worth mentioning. One was Khwaja Ikhtiyar-u'd-din and the other was his disciple, Shaikh Yusuf Badh. Khwaja Ikhtiyar had formerly held a high office in the government of Mahmudabad/Kalpi, but, overcome by a strong spiritual urge, withdrew himself from all worldly affairs.[7] At the same time he accepted discipleship under Qazi Muhammad Sawi, a renowned teacher, scholar and mystic, and obtained from him the *khirqah-i-khilafat*.[8] Among his disciples, Shaikh Yusuf Badh was most prominent. Khwaja Ikhtiyar died in 809/1406 in Iraj, where his shrine still stands.[9]

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 497a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 321.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 151. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 371-378. *Tazkirah*, p. 21.

[3] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 151. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 371-378.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 151. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, pp. 371, 378.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[7] *Tazkirah*, p. 20. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b.

[8] *Ibid.*, *Tazkirah*, p. 21. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 378.

[9] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b. *Tazkirah*, p. 21.

Shaikh Yusuf Badh Iraji

He migrated from Khwarizm to Iraj owing to unfortunate circumstances.[1] Apart from being a disciple of Khwaja Ikhtiyar-u'd-din 'Umar Iraji, he was blessed spiritually by Sayyid Jalal *Bukhari* and Shaikh Raju Qattal and obtained the *khirqah* from them.[2] He was a noted scholar, a prolific writer and at the same time a poet.[3] His greatest work, *i.e.*, his translation of *Minhaj-u'l-'Abidin* of Ghazali, has earned him great praise.[4] Muhammad Bihamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, was one of his disciples. He recorded Shaikh Yusuf's fondness for mystic music and how the Shaikh was one day carried into ecstatic raptures on hearing music and died in such a condition in 834/1430.[5]

He was buried in the courtyard of his monastery where later on his tomb was adorned with a grand dome by Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Mandwi.[6] His tomb is visited by thousands of the faithful every year. Shaikh Sarang was one of his chief disciples.[7]

Section III

Other Mystics In and Outside Jaunpur

Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpuri

His father, Makhdum Khizr, was a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani, and lived at Delhi.[8] Shaikh Muhammad was born and brought up at Delhi, after the invasion of Timur left for Jaunpur, but instead of living in the town, encamped in a neighbouring jungle.[9] When Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi came to know

[1] *Tazkirah*, p. 256. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 383.
[2] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b. *Tazkirah*, p. 256.
[3] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 383.
[4] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454b. *Tazkirah*, p. 256.
[5] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 455a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 383.
[6] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 455a. *Tazkirah*, p. 256.
[7] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 455a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 383.
[8] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 46.
[9] *Ibid.*

about him, he invited him through Nasir-u'd-din Gunbadi to Jaunpur and provided him with accommodation in *muhalla* Sipah.[1] Shaikh Muhammad spent most of his time practising his mystic pursuits. He was highly respected by the local people, including Hindus, for his miraculous deeds.[2] He died in 918/1512.[3] His Shrine stands quite close to the shrine of Khwaja Abul Fath in *muhalla* Sipah.[4]

Shaikh 'Usman Shirazi Jaunpuri

He was originally from Shiraz.[5] Afterwards he migrated to Delhi and from there during the invasion of Timur he came to Jaunpur, where he was respectfully received by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[6] Sayyid 'Usman was a very learned scholar and had mastered all the exoteric and esoteric subjects.[7] As a mystic he was admired and respected by the local people.[8] Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi's two nobles, Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis, were his great devotees. They built for him a monastery as well as a mosque which still stands in *muhalla* Darbiya and is known by the name of Khalis Mukhlis Mosque.[9] His shrine is also near it, while his descendants still live in *muhalla* Darbiya.[10]

Sayyid 'Ali Dau'ud Jaunpuri

His lineage goes back to Sayyid Husain Asghar bin Imam Zain-u'l-'Abidin.[11] He was an authority on the exoteric and esoteric subjects. He is considered to have been one of the great

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 46-47.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

holy men of Jaunpur.[1] Queen Bibi Raji, the wife of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi, deeply respected him, and built for him a monastery as well as a mosque.[2] This mosque is known by the name of Lal Darwazah Mosque—a splendid architectural achievement and now one of the chief mosques in Jaunpur.[3] To commemorate his name, she also founded a village which still exists and is called Sayyid 'Ali Pur.[4] His two sons, Makhdum Sayyid Jir and Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Qadir, continued the work of their father.[5]

Makhdum Akhi Rajgiri

His real name was Jamshed, but his *Pir*, Makhdum Jahanian, used to call him affectionately *Akhi*, so he became known by this name.[6] His birthplace was the village of Zehra, one of the dependencies of Daryabad in Awadh.[7] While he was still young, he felt a spiritual urge and a compelling need to seek out truth. Forsaking everything he went to Makhdum Jahanian Jalal Bukhari and accepted his discipleship. He lived with him for some years and followed mystic practices according to his Order and finally received *khirqah-i-khilafat*.[8] Then Makhdum Jahanian appointed him to the spiritual headship of the country of Jaunpur.[9] He did not, however, relish having to mingle with people, so he went to Qannauj, which he left for the same reason, and settled in a lonely village in Rajgir on the banks of the Ganges.[10] Though he preferred a life of solitude, some of his spiritual and miraculous powers attracted thousands of people.[11] Among his followers was Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, who

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 45.
2 *Ibid.*, I: 45-46.
3 *Ibid.*, I: 46.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 32b. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a.
7 *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 63.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 64. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 64.
11 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451a.

had sought his blessings for the kingship of Jaunpur.[1] Malik Sarwar had much faith in him and often came to Rajgir to pay him homage.[2] Even men such as Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Ambaithi and Shah Madar, noted saints, paid him high tribute.[3] He was also a great friend of Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Fathpuri.

His death occurred, in a reputedly miraculous way, in 801/ 1398, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[4]

Himself a celibate, he had adopted his sister's son, Shaikh Qayam-u'd-din, as his successor.[5] The famous saint, Shaikh Fath Ullah Rajgiri, is also descended from him.[6] Shaikh Bodhan Chishti was one of his reputed disciples. Makhdum Akhi Rajgiri's shrine stands in Rajgir and is visited by thousands of the faithful who go to pay him homage every year.[7]

Shah Da'ud Surhurpuri

He is also known by the name of Shah Da'ud Sarmast.[8] He was originally a saint of the Chishtiya Order, but also received the blessings of the Qalandariya Order and of Shah 'Abdullah Shattari—a contemporary of his who lived at Jaunpur.[9] Shaikh Da'ud received the *khirqah-i-khilafat* from Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi, a renowned saint who was a disciple of Shaikh Sarang.[10] During his long life Shaikh Da'ud had some connections with Shaikh Rumi, a *khalifah* of Qutb-u'l-'Alam Bakhtiyar.[11] Among many

1 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 451b.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, f. 454a, does not mention the year of his death, whereas *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 64, gives the year.

5 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 454a.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 383.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, f. 446b.

of his *khalifahs* the most notable was Shaikh Nur, who lived and died at Tandah.[1]

Shaikh Bahram Chishti

He was a saint of many miraculous deeds and was one of the renowned *khalifahs* of Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Panipati.[2] He received his mantle of spirituality at a very early age. At first he was ordered to settle at Barnawah, the home of his Shaikh, but later he was transferred to Badauli, a town on the banks of the river Jamuna.[3] He attained the very great age of one hundred and twenty-five years and died in 854/1450, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. His tomb is in Badauli.[4]

Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Fathpuri

A chief *khalifah* of Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir and a saint of high virtue, he was considered to be unique among his contemporaries.[5] After Qazi 'Abdul Muqtadir's death, his grandson, Shaikh 'Abul Fath, who respected Shaikh Husam-u'd-din very much considered him to be his grandfather. They were very close friends.[6] At the advent of Timur, both left Delhi. Shaikh Husam-u'd-din, reaching Fathpur, settled there and 'Abul Fath went to Jaunpur. Shaikh Husam-u'd-din Fathpuri was also very friendly with Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri, with whom he corresponded.[7] He died in 800/1397, during the reign of Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar.[8] His shrine at Fathpur is visited by thousands.[9] His sons were also reputed mystics of their time.[10] Shaikh Bodhan Chishti was one of his

1 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, ff. 496-97.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 394.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 395.
5 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 458a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 370.
6 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 458b.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 459a.
8 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 370. *Riaz-u'l-Auliya*, f. 114a.
9 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 459a.
10 *Ibid.*, f. 460b.

renowned disciples.[1]

Makhdum Jalal-u'l-Haqq

Qazi Khan Nasihi

He was born in Zafarabad in 805/1402, where he witnessed the varying fortunes of the Sharqi Sultanate and left numerous traditions behind.[2] He was descended from the family of Hazrat Ibrahim Adham.[3] His grandparents came from Balkh, whence his great-grandfather, Qazi Taj-u'd-din Nasihi, had migrated to Delhi in India.[4] Afterwards Qazi Taj-u'd-din became the disciple of Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind whom he accompanied during the campaign of Manachh Garh/Zafarabad. Here he established himself and also rose to the position of a Qazi (judge).[5] Makhdum Bandagi Jalal-u'l-Haqq's early education was supervised by 'Imad-u'l-Mulk, a wazir of the Sharqis who was his mother's grandfather.[6] 'Imad-u'l-Mulk was very fond of him and took great interest in bringing him up, until he was eighteen years old.[7] Then he turned his attention towards mysticism and became the disciple of Shaikh Hasan Tahir Chishti, who influenced him profoundly.[8] He rose to an eminent position and was considered to be one of the leading Chishtiya saints of his time. He was a saint of profound insight and used to say that after thirty years' mystic practices he could conquer his ego.[9] Later on he became so engrossed in his mystic pursuits that he concerned himself no more with the problem of earning a livelihood and finally became bankrupt. Compelled by circumstances, he ultimately wrote to his *Pir* about his financial worries, but the

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 370.

[2] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 15.

[3] *Tazkirah*, p. 166, mentions his real name as Yusuf.

[4] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 15.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 226. *Tazkirah*, p. 166. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 428.

[9] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, I: 17. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 17.

latter advised him that whenever such circumstances and sufferings afflicted a man and his family they should believe the following three things:—first, that "My requirements are to be fulfilled only by my God and not by anybody else, because He is neither a different God from me nor am I a different man from Him." Secondly, "You are a human being created by the Almighty, so you should worry neither on your account nor on others', because He is the Nourisher of all." Thirdly, "If you are poor, the treasure of faith should be sufficient for you and you should not worry unavailingly about anything else."[1] His greatness can be judged from the fact that his *Pir* later on appointed him tutor to his son, 'Abdul 'Aziz, and also the latter's spiritual guide.[2]

The author of *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya* mentions that the Emperor Humayun, on going to Jaunpur, desirous of obtaining the saint's blessings for his success, six times sought a meeting with him, but was disappointed each time. On Humayun's seventh attempt the Makhdum granted him an audience, but declined to accept a land grant from the Emperor.[3] When later this offer was made to his eldest son and successor, Shaikh 'Abdullah, the latter also declined.[4]

He was a contemporary of Mir 'Ali 'Ashiqan of Sira-i-Miri, Shaikh Adhan Jaunpuri and also of Sayyid Ghiyas-u'd-din Zafarabadi, the one who had succeeded Makhdum Aftab-i-Hind. These four were firm friends who often discussed matters such as life after death.[5] He left many eminent disciples such as Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz, son of Shaikh Hasan Tahir Chishti Jaunpuri.

He died at an advanced age in 944/1537.[6] His shrine stands in Zafarabad where his 'Urs is celebrated every year.[7]

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 16.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 227. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 428. *Tazkirah*, p. 186.
4 *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 227. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 428.
5 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 17.
6 *Ibid.*, I: 18. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 428 and *Tazkirah*, mention 970/1562, which does not coincide with the circumstances.
7 *Ibid.*

Shaikh Muhammad Mutawakkil

He was one of the chief *khalifahs* of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh.[1] His father, A'zud-u'd-din, had migrated from Herat to India and had settled in the town of Ajoli.[2] He himself was a disciple of the said Shaikh and was a saint of miraculous powers.[3] He lived to a great age and died in 827/1423 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[4]

Sayyid 'Ilm-u'd-din Pala'in Suhrawardi

He came from a Tirmzi Sayyid family.[5] His ancestor, Sayyid Kamal Tirmzi, migrated to India during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji and settled in the town of Kanbhal.[6] Afterwards one of his sons, who was the great-grandfather of Sayyid 'Ilm-u'd-din, left Kanbhal and settled in Qannauj.[7]

Sayyid 'Ilm-u'd-din was a *khalifah* of Makhdum Jahanian.[8] He was also a great friend of Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri, who advised him to go to Jaunpur in the services of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[9] Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi honoured him and bestowed upon him the *jagir* of Palain.[10] Sayyid 'Ilm-u'd-din settled in Palain and worked for Islam.[11] On one occasion when the local Hindus opposed him, he sought the help of Shaikh Akhi.[12] The latter came to Palain at once and constructed a fort there. In this way the Shaikh blessed him and his descendants with future security.[13]

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 382-83.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 382.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*

He was a contemporary of Sayyid Jahangir Samnani. They were great friends and also corresponded with each other.[1] Both died in the same year, in 808/1405, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. His tomb is at Palain.[2]

SECTION IV

The Sabiriya Order

The Sabiriya Order is a sub-branch of the Chishtiya Order. It was founded by Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, one of the chief disciples of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Masu'd *Ganj-i-Shakar* and a contemporary of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.[3] Contemporary records are mostly silent about its founder, Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, and the early history of the Order. There are a few lines written in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* about 'Ali Ahmad Sabir; even these have not been considered as authentic by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq *Muhaddis*, the author of *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*.[4] The only relevant material is found in the seventeenth and eighteenth century *Tazkirahs* which are not altogether reliable.[5]

In the light of the material available, it seems that Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Masu'd *Ganj-i-Shakar's* two disciples, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, split the Chishtiya Order into different branches.[6] One was *Nizamiya*, named after Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, and the other *Sabiriya*, named after Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir.[7]

Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, after receiving the mantle of spirituality from his *Pir*, Baba Farid, had settled in Kalyar. The traditions of this Order were carried on by Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir's successor and chief *Khalifah*, Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Turk,

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 64-65.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 167.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 215. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, ff. 185. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 96.
[5] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 215.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 315.
[7] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, pp. 166-67. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 313.

a descendant of Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi.[1] He had migrated from Turkistan to Delhi, where he first served for some time in the army of Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Balban.[2] Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Turk afterwards became a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir and, after receiving the *khirqah*, was asked to settle at Panipat, where for a good number of years he carried on *Sabiriya* traditions.[3]

He was succeeded by Jalal-u'd-din Panipati, who became a renowned saint of his time and left many disciples.[4] But the person who made this Order most popular and established its rich traditions firmly was Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Rudaulwi, one of the chief *khalifahs* of Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Panipati. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Rudaulwi (ob. 837/1433) belonged to the Sharqi period.[5] After receiving the *khirqah-i-khilafat* he established a monastery at Rudauli, a town in the Bara Banki district in the Sharqi Kingdom. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq, being a close student of various mystics of his time, was able to establish his organization at Rudauli on a sound footing, and more efficiently in many respects than that of *Nizamiya*.[6] Soon his monastery became an important centre in Northern India to which many mystics were attracted and where they learned his mystic system.[7] Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Rudaulwi's *Malfuzat*, called *Anwar-u'l-Uyun*, were collected by his disciple, Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddus Gangohi.[8] They throw light on his life and work.[9] In the following pages an attempt will be made to write a brief account of him and his successors and their works during the reign of the Sharqis.

[1] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, pp. 215-16. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 165.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 216. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 215.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 197. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 183. At Panduah he met Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam and was greatly blessed by him. *Some aspects of Religion and Politics During the 13th Century*, p. 195.

[6] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 217.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

The Sabiriya Mystics of Rudauli

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq Rudaulwi

He is one of the greatest saints of the Sharqi period and established an independent school of mystics in Rudauli, as has been mentioned before, from where his successors and disciples continued his tradition. He was a descendant of the family of Hazrat 'Umar Farooq. Owing to the invasion of the Mongols, his grandfather, Shaikh Da'ud, had migrated from Balkh to Delhi during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, and had joined government service under the said Sultan in Awadh.[1] Shaikh Da'ud was a disciple of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Awadhi and a saint of high virtues.[2]

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq's father, Shaikh 'Umar, was also a holy man. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq was born in Rudauli, and since his childhood had been a lad of spiritual pursuits. His mother, though a holy woman, did not want him to take so much interest in mysticism at such an early age, fearing this would be too strenuous and would affect his health.[3]

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq did not like her to control him in this respect, so he left home when he was only twelve years and went to Delhi where one of his elder brothers, Shaikh Taqi, was living.[4] His brother took an interest in his education and tried to send him to a *Madrasa*, but Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq refused to attend the classes and told his brother to learn *tasawwuf.*[5] His brother, however, took him to some learned teachers and insisted that they should teach him exoteric subjects, but after some time he again rebelled against this external control.[6]

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 465a.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 182.

[4] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 465a. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 182.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 182. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 384. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 465-66.

Then his brother wanted him to get married, but he himself went to his would-be parents-in-law and refused to do so.[1] Leaving Delhi, he now went to Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Panipati, accepted his discipleship and received from him the mantle of spirituality.[2] The latter also appointed him tutor to his children.[3]

During the invasion of Timur he left Panipat and went to Bhakkar.[4] Afterwards he travelled to Bihar and Bengal where he met Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din and Shaikh Nur Qutb-u'l-'Alam, both of whom blessed him.[5] Then he went to Awadh where he met Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhi, but he did not approve of the latter's mystic practices.[6] It is said that he was very friendly with Shaikh Jalal Gujri, who also accompanied him on his travels to many different places in that part of the country.[7] Finally he settled down in his native town where he established his mystical pursuits and had many followers.

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi had great regard for him. The author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* mentions that once Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi visited Rudauli in connection with some function and was told there by Qazi Raji, the officer of the city of Awadh, about the saintly virtues of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq.[8] Sultan Ibrahim was much pleased to know about him and he donated through the Qazi some money and a good number of acres of land for the expenses of the saint's monastery. Shaikh Ahmad refused to accept these gifts, however, saying that God, and not Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, is the One who fulfils the needs of all.[9] He spent his whole life absorbed completely in his spiritual pur-

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 182.

[2] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Auliya*, f. 383a.

[3] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 384. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 465-66. *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 216.

[4] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 466a.

[5] *Ibid.*, ff. 466. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 183.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 185. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 467a.

[8] *Ibid.*, f. 470a.

[9] *Ibid.*

suits. It is said that he never looked around and used to walk keeping his head down.[1] The author of *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* mentions that for forty to fifty years he used to walk to the Jami' Mosque, following the sound of "*Haqq Haqq*", pronounced by some of his disciples, but never knew where the mosque was situated.[2] It was the common practice of his disciples to say "*Haqq Haqq*" instead of "*Asslam-o-Alaikum*" at the time of seeing one another. They acted likewise during their meals, as well as on other occasions.[3] Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq believed that the word "*Haqq*" was the most significant for conveying all the attributes of God.[4] His disciples also used to practise "*Haqq Haqq*" at the time of *Zikr*.[5] Tradition has it that some of his disciples even recited "*Haqq Haqq*" instead of the Muslim creed on their deathbed.[6] He used to say that Sufi Mansoor, the famous mystic, could not keep the secret of God and thus proved himself a child, but there were some men who drank a sea of the virtues of God, but never hiccupped.[7] He also said that as the companions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad secured affection and benevolence, in the same manner the latter believers could receive those gifts by following the right path of Islam.[8] He was very fond of mystical music.[9]

He attained a very long life and died in 837/1433, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and was buried in his native town, Rudauli, where his shrine is now visited by thousands.[10] He had many disciples, of whom Shaikh Bakhtiyar was the best

1 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 184.

2 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 387. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 184.

3 *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, p. 384.

4 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 184.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 470b.

8 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 184.

9 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 470a. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 222.

10 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 472-73. *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 217.

known.[1]

Shaikh Ahmad was succeeded by his son, Shaikh 'Arif, who, like his father, was a saint of great virtues and preached mysticism for about fifty years in that part of the country.[2] During his last years he handed over his charge to his son, Shaikh Muhammad, and he himself retired in solitude.[3] Shaikh Arif died in 859/1454 at the age of only forty years.

Shaikh Muhammad Rudaulwi

Shaikh Muhammad, like his father Shaikh 'Arif, was also an accomplished saint.[4] Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din, the author of *Lata'if i-Quddusi*, mentions that when he was on the verge of death he called his son, Shaikh Auliya, who is also known by the name of Shaikh Badah, and handed over to him the heritage of his ancestors.[5]

Shaikh Badah was a successful mystic leader, and during his life of one hundred and twenty years he made the *Sabiriya* Order very popular in Northern India.[6] He had many disciples among whom his son, Shaikh Mansoor, and Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdur-Rehman Qidwai were pre-eminent.[7]

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi

His father's name was Isma'il.[8] He was brought up under the benevolence of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haqq Rudaulwi, but became a disciple of the latter's grandson, Shaikh Muhammad.[9]

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 185. *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics During the 13th Century*, p. 195.

[2] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 475a.

[3] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 397.

[4] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 475a. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 216.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 473a. *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 218.

[6] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 218. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 475b.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 481a.

[9] *Ibid.*, f. 481b. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 397.

He was married to the sister of his *Shaikh.*[1] He was one of the great saints of the Sabiriya Order.[2] 'Umar Khan, one of the chief nobles of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sultan Bahlul Lodi, had much faith in him and persuaded him to migrate from Rudauli in 1490/91 to Shahabad in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where he lived afterwards for about thirty-eight years during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi.[3] Sikandar Lodi, Babur and Humayun had a high regard for him and Shaikh Gangohi also corresponded with him.[4] Humayun indeed became his disciple and often visited him to discuss his spiritual problems.

Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl in his *Tazkirah-i-Auliya-i-Hind* mentions that Humayun had a high regard for Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus and often visited him to discuss spiritual problems.

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus was a learned scholar and a prolific writer. His writings show a great depth of knowledge and scholarship. He translated *'Awarif* and wrote a commentary on *Fusus-u'l-Hikam.*[5] His other books are *Nur-u'l-Huda, Rushad Nama, Qurrat-u'l-A'yun, Ghara'ib-u'l-Fawa'id, Lata'if-i-Quddusi* (compiled by Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din and *Mazhar-u'l-'Aja'ib,* in which he stressed mainly the philosophy of *Wahdat-u'l-Wujud.*[6] His book, *Rushad Nama,* shows that he had a good command of the Hindi language as well, and that is why one finds a good number of Hindi couplets in his writings.[7] He wrote didactic letters to contemporary nobles. He earned a great name for this Order and made it popular.

He had very many disciples among whom Shah Jalal Thanesri,

[1] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar,* f. 418b. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya,* f. 48b. *Sayyid Nur-u'l-Hasan, M.I.Q.* Vol. I, July, 1950, p. 49.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht,* pp. 216-18.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 218. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar,* f. 482b.

[4] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht,* p. 220. *Maktubat-i-Quddusi,* pp. 44-46.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht,* p. 221.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 215.

[7] *Ibid.*

his chief *khalifah,* was a great saint as well as learned scholar.[1] He had three sons, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din, Shaikh 'Abdul-Hamid and Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din. The last named was famous. His grandson, Shaikh 'Abd-u'n-Nabi, son of Shaikh Ahmad, was *Sadr-u's-Sadur* of Akbar.[2]

In the later part of his life, Shaikh Quddus lived at Gangoh for about fourteen years, and died there in 965/1537-38.[3] His shrine is an attraction for thousands.

Shaikh Bakhtiyar

He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul-Haqq Rudaulwi, who had accompanied him on all his travels.[4] He was the slave of a jeweller, with whom he had once visited Rudauli.[5] There he became a follower of Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq.[6] He lived at Rudauli for six months and practised mystic disciplines.[7] He was always found absorbed in spiritual love.[8] He was afterwards allowed to go back to Jaunpur and join his master, the jeweller, but the latter released him from his service in order that he might lead a life dedicated to the spirit.[9] Though he was illiterate, he could discuss the subject of spirituality with scholars of mysticism. He never deviated from Quranic education as well as that of *Sunna.*[10] He died in 910/1504.[11]

[1] *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 223. His other *Khalifahs* were Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafur 'Umar Din, Shaikh Bahoor 'Azampuri, Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz Kiranwi, Shaikh 'Abdul Sattar Saharanpuri and Shaikh Abdul Ahad, father of Shaikh Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani. Also see *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 216. *Tarikh-i-Masha'ikh-i-Chisht*, p. 222. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 417-18.

[3] *Ibid.*, I: 418. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 483a.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 185.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 411.

SECTION V

The Qalandariya Order

Members of this Order are distinguished from others by their shaven heads and eyebrows and by the fact that they wear no moustaches and beards.[1] They generally wear one long shirt or wrap the body in a blanket, which is often coloured, and also sometimes wear ear-rings.[2] They fasten either a part of a blanket or a small sheet of cotton round their loins. Those who wrap the blanket round the body are called *Jawaliq*. They travel about without shoes and practise severe acts of austerity and sometimes live in a state of ecstasy.[3] The *Qalandars*, on the other hand, believe in a care-free life with an utter neglect of the laws of religion on the forms of society.

The contemporary religious records refer to the presence of a large number of *Qalandars* and *Jawaliqs* in India during the thirteenth century. Literally the word *qalandar* means "a person who is free of all cares of this world and the next." But in mysticism it has a special significance.

As regards their origin, it is said that this order was founded by a Spanish Arab named Yusuf, from Egypt,[4] or by Mufti Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Sawa[5] in Persia, who, according to Ibn-i-Battuta, settled in Damietta and ended his days there. The first *qalandar* saint who reached India was Shah Khizr Rumi, a contemporary of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki.[6] Shah Khizr Rumi was a disciple of Abdul Aziz Makki. In India this Order was established by Sayyid Najm-u'd-din Ghaus-u'l-Dahr, who was at first a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, and then

[1] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 77.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 131.

[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 49-50.

[6] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 274. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 49-50.

of Shaikh Khizr Rumi.[1] According to John A. Sobhan his death occurred in 1432 at Mandu, but other authorities are not certain about this.[2] One finds references, however, to this Order even in the Khalji period.

One of the great mystics of this Order was Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Qalandar Panipati, who was a *khalifah* of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki.[3] Another great mystic and leader of this Order was Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, a contemporary of Jamal-u'd-din Hanswi and Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.[4] Yet another member of this Order was Sidi Maula who flourished in the reign of Jalal-u'd-din Firuz Khalji, but was executed on suspicion of political ambition.[5]

During the period of the Sharqis there were only four notable Qalandars, *i.e.*, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bina-i-Dil, Shaikh Muhammad Qutb, Shaikh 'Abdus Salam and Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din, whose biographical notices are given.

The Qalandars of Jaunpur

Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bina-i-Dil Qalandar

He was born blind, but his heart was endowed with spiritual light and on account of this he became known as Shaikh Bina-i-Dil, *i.e.*, one who can see by means of his heart.[6] He was a disciple of Sayyid Najm-u'd-din Ghaus-u'l-Dahr. In addition he also received the blessings of Shah 'Abdullah Shattari.[7] Shaikh Bina-i-Dil spent most of his time praying and practising his mystic disciplines. He was a saint to whom many miraculous deeds

[1] *Manba'-u'l-Ansab*, f. 168. A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, No. 2, December, 1963, p. 77.

[2] John A. Sobhan, p. 310.

[3] A'in, Vol. III, p. 410. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, ff. 120. His memoirs on the topic of mystic love and his *Hukm Nama* are referred to in *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 274 and 326-27.

[4] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*.

[5] *Tabaqat*, I: 127.

[6] *Manba'-u'l-Ansab*, f. 168a. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 63.

[7] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 63.

are attributed, and was highly respected by the people. It is recorded that once at an assembly he bade one of his disciples recite *Qasidah Burdah.*[1] On listening to its recitation, he became transported into an ecstasy, which deeply affected the onlookers, some of whom were able to share it.[2] He died on 25th Sha'ban 880/1475 and was buried in the *muhalla* Jogiyapur, which is also known as Alanpur as well as Shaikhpur.[3]

Shaikh Muhammad Qutb Qalandar

He was a son and disciple of Shaikh Bina-i-Dil.[4] He was a saint of great intellect and was credited with possessing supernatural powers.[5] He was originally an adherent of the philosophy of Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-'Arabi and took a keen interest in the *Mas'lah-i-Tauhid*, (Unity of God).[6] He had profound insight into this and knew how to impart this understanding to others.[7] He also used to say that his saintliness depended mainly upon two things, one his virtuous conduct and refined manners, and the other regards for the Prophet Muhammad and his family and descendants.[8] He died in the month of *Zu'l-qa'da* but the year of his death is not known.[9] He was buried at the back of his father's shrine.[10]

Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Qalandar

He was the disciple and nephew as well as the son-in-law of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bina-i-Dil. He came from the family of Maulana Rukn-u'd-din Yak Lakhi.[11] He first secured the *khirqah-i-*

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 64.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

khilafat of the Qalandariya Order from Hazrat Bina-i-Dil, but afterwards joined the *Malamatiya* Order and took a keen interest in its activities.[1] He practised mysticism and prayed according to the rules of that Order so intensely that he achieved the highest spiritual rank in that respect, equal to that of *Shaikh-u'l-Shuyukh* and *Qutb-u'l-Aqtab* of his time.[2] Later on following the order of his *Pir*, he left Jaunpur and settled in the town of Negu in the dependency of Mahal in the Jaunpur district, where he died in 915/1509.[3]

Shaikh Shah Nur of Surhurpuri in the district of Faizabad was his eldest son and disciple, and a well-known saint.[4] His descendants still live in *muhalla* Chatar Sarai in Jaunpur, as well as in the town of Negu, in Nurpur, Hafizpur and Kichaucha.[5]

Shah 'Abdus Salam Qalandar

He is also known by the name of Shaikh 'Alan Qalandar.[6] He was the son and disciple of Shaikh Qutb, and also received the blessings of his grandfather, Shaikh Bina-i-Dil, as well as of the Suhrawardiya Order from Shaikh Adhan Zafarabadi, the successor of Makhdum Chiragh-i-Hind.[7] Shah 'Abdus Salam was a great scholar of his time at Jaunpur. He was also an author and in this respect his short commentary on *Al-Waqaya* in Arabic is well known.[8] He stood out among his contemporaries for his holiness.[9] He was survived by many disciples, among whom Shaikh 'Abdur Rehman Lahar-puri and Shaikh Mahmud Lakhnawi are noteworthy.[10]

1 *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 66.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*

Shah 'Abdus Salam died on 14th Jamadi II. The year of his death is not known.[1] He was buried in Jogiya Muhalla, also known by the name of Alanpur, near the grave of his grandfather, *i.e.*, Shaikh Bina-i-Dil.[2] Shah 'Abdul Quddus, a grandson of Shaikh Bina-i-Dil, was another renowned saint of this Order, who attained the age of one hundred and fifty years and died in 1052/1642.[3]

Section VI

The Madariya Order

This Order was founded during the period of the Sharqis. Its followers, commonly known as *Chelas* of Shah Madar, are scattered in different parts of India and Pakistan to-day. Fire-walking is one of their peculiarities. To the accompaniment of drum-beating, they walk through fire, shouting "Dam Madar" (to the breath of Madar, *i.e.*, Shah Madar).[4] Some consider that the *Madariyas* are the disciples of Sayyid Salar Mas'ud Ghazi, who is supposed to have met with a tragic death on his wedding day, and lies buried in Bahraich.[5] But the fact is that the *Madariyas* are the disciples of Shah Badi'-u'd-din Madar, who came to India, after long travels necessary for mystics, and settled at Makanpur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[6] Shah Madar has become almost a legendary figure about whom not much is known with exactitude. The *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, composed by his disciples, is the only detailed book on his life, but the work is essentially hagiological and has little historical value.

The Madaris of Makanpur and Jaunpur

Shah Badi'-u'd-din Madar

His father, Shaikh 'Ali Halbi, was of Jewish descent. Shah

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 66.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
[4] A. Halim, *J.A.S.P.*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1963, p. 76.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

Madar was born in Syria.[1] He was a great scholar of exoteric as well as esoteric subjects and is said to have committed to his memory holy books such as the Torah and the Bible.[2] He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Taifuri.[3] Before migrating to India he had travelled widely in the Middle-Eastern countries and had lived quite a good number of years in Mecca, Madina and Najaf, mostly for his studies.[4] In India his first halt was Gujarat, from where he went to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti Ajmeri's shrine at Ajmer.[5] On his way to Jaunpur he passed through Qannauj where he met Qadir Shah, ruler of Kalpi. At Qannauj he then visited Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri, who paid him all respects.[6] He finally settled down at Makanpur, where Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi helped him to establish a monastery and he started there preaching and practising his mystic pursuits.[7] His reputation spread far and wide and very soon a good number of people accepted his discipleship. He then made preaching tours to Jaunpur, Lucknow, Kalpi, as well as other towns of the Awadh country and was able to win and influence saints and scholars such as Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Qidwai, Shaikh Qawam-u'd-din Lakhnawi, Qazi Mutahhar, Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi, and Qazi Mahmud Kinturi.[8] At Jaunpur Shah Madar became well-known among the people, and many such as Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal, Qazi Shihab-u'd-din Daulatabadi and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi were greatly influenced by him through discussions.[9]

[1] *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 3. According to *Safinat-u'l-Auliya*, p. 187, his lineage can be traced to the Prophet Muhammad. Also see *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 160.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 34b.

[3] *Manba'-u'l-Ansab*, f. 173a. *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 4-5.

[4] *Ibid.*, ff. 5-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, f. 13a. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 211.

[6] *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, f. 17b. It is said that the two also corresponded. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, f. 34b.

[7] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 450, 451. *Karamat-i-Auliya*, ff. 360-61, 378. *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, f. 17b.

[8] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, ff. 34-35. *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 17-31.

[9] *Ibid.*, f. 21.

It is said that Shah Madar was extremely handsome and his face always shone with such spiritual light that he used to wear a black veil to hide it from the public.[1] Shah Madar's preaching tours and his reputation as a saint of high virtues attracted thousands. It is said that he never wore rich garments. Although he was in the habit of being aloof from the people, they used to throng at his monastery every Monday in order to collect dates. On such occasions he used to relate them a story through which those who sought advice received their answer.[2] He is said to have attained to the great age of a hundred and twenty-five years.[3] He died in 844/1440 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and was buried at Makanpur, where his shrine was later built by an unknown son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi—the one who was a disciple of Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal.[4] This shrine now stands on a beautiful site at Makanpur where thousands go to celebrate his *'Urs* (annual feast).[5] The author of *Mir'at-i-Madariya* mentions that Shah Madar trained seventy chief *khalifahs* amongst whom there were Shaikh 'Abdur Rehman Qidwai, Shah 'Alam Madari, Misan Shah Madari, Shah Mita Mandawi, Qazi Mahmud Kinturi and Shaikh Mina Lakhnawi, who were all saints of miraculous deeds and who popularized the *Madariya* Order throughout India.[6]

Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din Sabat Madari

He was the first person who came into contact with Shah Madar during the latter's visit to Jaunpur.[7] Shaikh Sabat learned from Shah Madar all the subjects relating to *Shari'a* as well as

[1] *Safinat-u'l-'Arifin*, f. 71a. *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, f. 31. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 310.

[2] *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, f. 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 33.

[4] *Safinat-u'l-'Arifin*, f. 71a. *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 35-36. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 312.

[5] *Mir'at-i-Madariya*, ff. 34b.

[6] *Ibid.*, ff. 31. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, f. 217b.

[7] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 61.

mysticism, and also received from him the *khirqah.*[1] Shaikh Sabat hovered on the verge of madness and spent his whole life wandering in deserts and jungles.[2] In the end he came to Jaunpur, where he died and was buried under the same dome as that of his *Pir.*[3] He is considered to be one of the outstanding mystics of the *Madariya* Order.[4] His date of death is not known.

Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din Madari

He was a son and disciple of Shaikh Sabat Madari and had joined this Order while he had been quite young.[5] He was a mystic of high virtue and a man of great patience and perseverance, who faced his troubles with a smiling face all his life.[6] He was a man with a great capacity for love and regarded all men with equal love, whether they were religious or otherwise.[7] He attained a great age and died in Jaunpur in 942/1535 and was buried under the same dome as that of his father.[8] His son and successor, Shah Fazl Ullah Madari, carried on his tradition in Jaunpur, where he died in 976/1568.[9]

SECTION VII

The Shattariya Order

This Order is traced back to Shaikh Yazid Taifur Bustami,[10] (752-845), who believed that rapture was superior to sobriety.[11] He often went into raptures in his contemplation of Absolute Truth. Thus his cult of love became known as *Tariqa-i-'Ishqiya,*[12]

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 61.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
[10] K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1950, p. 56.
[11] *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 254.
[12] K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, *op. cit.*

and afterwards was called after the name of its founder as *Taifuriya* or *Bustamiya.*[1] In India this Order was introduced by Shah 'Abdullah Shattari, a descendant of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi.[2] Shah 'Abdullah was the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Taifuri, who afterwards migrated from Persia to India and first settled in Jaunpur. In India this Order became known after his name, *Shattari.*[3]

The word *Shattari* is derived from the Arabic root, '*Shatr*' which means to move quickly in a certain direction. Therefore the meaning of '*Shattar*' would be 'one who moves quickly'. The *Shattaris* gave to the word '*Shattar*' the meaning of 'one who is too quick and eager to attain the vision of God.'[4] According to Shah 'Abdullah there are three different methods of spiritual training, *Akhyar*, *Abrar* and *Shattar*, of which the last, the *Suluk-i-Shattari*, is the quickest.[5]

Shattari mystics believe that a man who is a slave should not complain before God about poverty. They eat whatever they receive, keeping in view the real giver. To the *Shattaris* the obligations of existence are better than *Tawakkul* (absolute dependence), neither is there a conflict with the *nafs* (appetitive self, the source of all the evil tendencies) nor with *mujahida* (exertion). They also believe that there is neither *fana* (annihilation of self) nor *fana-u'l-fana* (annihilation of annihilation), for *fana* requires two personalities, one that is annihilated, the other the one in which this one is to be annihilated. This is against *Tauhid* (the Unity of God). The recognition of one's own self precedes the recognition of God in conformity with the saying attributed to the Prophet, that one who understands himself, is one who understands God.

1 *A'in-i-Akbari*, II: 203.

2 K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, pp. 56-57.

3 *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 306.

4 *Ibid.* K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1950, p. 57.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Shattaris do not believe in *ghayr* (the other), which has no existence, and accordingly death itself is life itself and there is no necessity of death. *Shattaris* do not practise *suluk* and are never in *Jazbah* (ecstasy). A *shattari sufi* sees himself in all conditions.

Shah 'Abdullah, also known as Hazrat-i-Ala, had many disciples, among whom Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri and Shaikh Qazan Bengali were eminent.[1] Their disciples such as Shaikh Burham, Shaikh Wali, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din, Shaikh Abu'l Fath Sarmast, Shaikh Zahoor Haji, and Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus continued the traditions of this Order and made it very popular in different parts of India till the rise of the *Naqshbandiya* Order. A short history of the Shattariya Order and of the works of its chief saints is as follows.

The Shattaris of Jaunpur and their Activities in and outside Jaunpur

Shah 'Abdullah Shattari

As mentioned before, Shah 'Abdullah was the founder of this Order in India. His father's name was Shaikh Bahlul Sandhili, a descendant of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi.[2] Shah 'Abdullah was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Taifuri, who sent him to India, Shah 'Abdullah was a rich saint who lived with great pomp and possessed both external and spiritual greatness.[3] Before coming to India he had travelled through Iraq, Khurasan, Azarbaijan and many other Muslim countries, and had met many famous saints of his time. In India he first visited Shaikh Husam-u'd-din, Raji Hamid Shah and Shah Sayyidu at Manikpur. He had also the pleasure of meeting Sayyid Jahangir Samnani.[4] He differed in some respects from the saints of other Orders. Whereas others considered itinerary a part of their

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani*, ff. 121-22.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya*, ff. 40-41. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 20. *Tazkirah*, p. 103. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 494b.

[3] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171.

[4] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 307-308.

spiritual education, he travelled to show others the 'path of God'. He was fond of travelling with great pomp and show. He used to wear royal dress while his disciples who accompanied him wore military uniforms, and thus his army of followers used to march from place to place with banners and drums.[1] He made a tour of various parts of this country, visiting many villages and towns. To the beat of drums he would call out in the course of his progress, "Is there anyone who wishes to be shown the way of God?"[2]

On reaching India, he settled in Jaunpur, where in those days Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was the ruler. He achieved great success there and made many followers among whom the most distinguished were Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'ruf and Shaikh Qazan Bengali.[3] Once Sultan Ibrahim, on hearing his trumpets, was surprised and thought his announcements savoured of pedantry. One day Sultan Ibrahim went to see him and asked him to be instructed in his way. But Shah 'Abdullah refused, saying that spiritually he was not up to the mark.[4] As the Sultan did not appreciate his method of preaching, this annoyed Shah 'Abdullah and he left for Mandu in disgust.[5] We do not find any details among the accounts of hagiologists about this unpleasant episode. Probably the military outfit of Shah 'Abdullah's disciples created suspicion in the mind of the Sharqi ruler. He may thus have thought that to allow a semi-military group to settle in Jaunpur was a danger which he was apparently not prepared to risk.

Leaving Jaunpur, Shah 'Abdullah went to Chittor where at

[1] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 106. K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1950, p. 57.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. The author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* writes that he used to announce that "If any one knows the meaning of *Kalimah-i-Tauhid* (Islamic formula of faith) better than myself, he should teach it to me; if not, he should learn it from me."

[3] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 101b, 102a. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 195. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 497b-498a, mentions him as Qazan Maneri, perhaps he was originally from Maner. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 307.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid. Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 495b.

that time Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Khalji was besieging the fortress.[1] He blessed the Sultan's forces and remained with him till the capture of the fortress. This pleased the Khalji Sultan very much. Shah 'Abdullah was accorded much respect and was afterwards sent to Mandu, before the Sultan's victorious armies returned to the capital.[2] Shah 'Abdullah established personal relations with the ruler and even dedicated to him his famous book *Lata'if-i-Ghaibiya.*[3] Shah 'Abdullah had great success in his mission and, apart from 'preaching, wrote many books and treatises such as *Siraj-u'l-Salikin*, *Anis-u'l-Musafirin*, *Asrar-u'l-Da'wat*, *Kanz-u'l-Asrar*, *Ashkal-i-Shattariya*, and a commentary on *Risalah-i-Ghausiya.*[4] Having attained a great age, he died in 890/1485 and was buried in Gwalior fort.[5]

Shah 'Abdullah reached India when the Sultanate of Delhi was fast disintegrating and there was widespread religious stir in the whole country. It was no mean achievement to establish a new Order where already two Orders, *i.e.*, *Suhrawardiya* and *Chishtiya*, had collapsed. It required a leader of exceptional organizing capacity such as Shah 'Abdullah to attract to the new Order scholars and saints in large numbers. No doubt Shah 'Abdullah achieved great success. The subsequent history of this Order is traced below.

Shah 'Abdullah's Disciples and the Later History of the Shattaris

Shah 'Abdullah had many disciples, among whom Shaikh

[1] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 100b, 103b. *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani*, ff. 121b, 122a.

[2] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 100b, 103b.

[3] *Ibid. Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani*, ff. 121b, 122a.

[4] *Tazkirah*, p. 103.

[5] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 171. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 100-103. *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani*, ff. 121-22. The author of *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, is mistaken in writing the date of his death 832/1428 and so is the author of *Tazkirah*, who writes that he died on the 23rd Jamadi I, 1010/1601. *Tazkirah*, p. 103. The author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 495b, mentions that Jahangir once visited Shah 'Abdullah's grave, and ordered a notable *Shattari* saint, Shah Pir, to erect a tomb on it.

Muhammad Ala, popularly known as Qazan Bengali, the founder of the Bengali branch of this Order, and Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri, who further consolidated this Order.[1] He was fortunate enough to have an able disciple in Shaikh Bodhan, who was a contemporary of Sultan Husain Sharqi and Sultan Sikandar Lodi, and who popularised this Order in Northern India.[2] Shaikh Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi, the famous author of *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, and uncle of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq *Muhaddis* Dehlawi, also sat at his feet and learnt spiritual practices.[3]

Shaikh Bodhan was succeeded by another capable *khalifah*, Shaikh Wali of Badauli, who sent his disciples, Shaikh Fiddan, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din and Shaikh Raji, to distant parts of the country to teach the doctrines of the *shattari silsilah*. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din wrote an interesting treatise, *i.e.*, *Risalah-i-Shattaria*, explaining the principles of this Order. The work became popular and was avidly read even during the Mughul period. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din's disciples, Sayyid Ali Qawam and Sayyid Ibrahim Iraji, were two other celebrated saints of this Order.[4]

The Bengali branch of this *silsilah* fared well under the leadership of Shaikh Qazan Bengali, a saint of wide fame, and a distinguished scholar. His disciple and son, Shaikh Abul Fath Hidayat Ullah Sarmast, played a distinguished part in spreading this *silsilah*.[5] His *khalifah*, Shaikh Zahoor Haji,[6] admitted to his discipleship Shaikh Bahlul[7] and his brother, Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior.[8] Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus was the most

[1] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 100b-101a. *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani*, ff. 147b-148a.

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 194-95.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1950, p. 58.

[5] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 496b-498a. His son, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din, continued his work. Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din was a highly accomplished saint. His *Khalifah*, Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din Sulaiman, was a teacher of Shaikh Ghausi.

[6] *Ibid.* His real name was Shah Hamid.

[7] Humayun had great affection for Shaikh Bahlul. When Mirza Hindal revolted in 945/1538, Shaikh Bahlul was sent to subdue him, but was murdered by the former's men. K. A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 62. *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 324.

[8] *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, f. 496b.

celebrated figure in the *Shattari silsilah*. His disciple, Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, rightly observes that Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus was the person who nursed the *shattariya* babe and brought it to manhood.[1]

Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Chunar, practising the most severe austerities and subsisting on the leaves of trees.[2] He was a prolific writer and wrote books such as *Jawahir-i-Khamsah*, *Kalid-i-Makhzan*, *Kunz-u't-Tauhid* and *Bahr-u'l-Hiyat*.[3] In the last book he discussed the influence of Hindu ideas on Muslim mysticism. It was indeed a precursor to *Majma'ul-Bahrain* of Dara Shikoh.[4] Shaikh Ghaus had numerous *Khalifahs*, among whom Shaikh Wajh-u'd-din Alawi Gujarati,[5] a distinguished scholar of his age, and Shaikh Manjhan[6] (the author of a famous book, *Madhu Malti*), further enhanced the prestige of the *silsilah*.

This *silsilah* was never organized on a popular basis. It appealed to scholars and wealthy people, but failed to attract adherents from among the common people. The inherent weakness in its organization was mainly due to the philosophy of this *silsilah* and the character of its *Masha'ikh*. Its followers believed in pantheism as the only valid religious doctrine, and the spiritual system was based on that fundamental concept. Great emphasis was laid upon the interiorization of religious rites—something that the common man failed to understand. Apart from that, *Shattaris*

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 332. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 187-192a. *Bada'uni*, III: 64. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, ff. 496b-498a. K. A. Nizami, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1950, pp. 58, 66-67. Ghausi was a pupil of Shaikh Wajh-u'd-din 'Alwi and a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus. Akbar was Muhammad Ghaus's *murid*. He died in 1563.

[2] *Bada'uni*, III, 4-5.

[3] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 334. *Bahr-u'l-Hiyat* was published in Delhi in 1890, but is now rarely available. A copy of the above edition is available in Aligarh Muslim University. *Bahr-u'l-Hiyat* was also translated into English as *Amrita Kunda*.

[4] *Bada'uni*, II: 62.

[5] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 333.

[6] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, ff. 239

fixed their gaze on palaces and mansions, neglecting the common man. As they were not interested in the problems of the poor, how could the latter be interested in them?

As this *silsilah* identified itself very closely with the State and its ruler, its prestige waxed and waned accordingly. Babur and Humayun[1] gave royal protection and prestige to *Shattari* saints, with which the prestige of the Order reached its apogee, but Akbar's nonchalant attitude decreased its prestige. When a decade later the *Naqshbandiya silsilah* arose, the *Shattari silsilah* paled into utter insignificance.

SECTION VIII

The Mahdawi Movement of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri

All believers in revealed scriptures—Jews, Christians and Muslims—hold the belief in an expected deliverer, *i.e.*, a *Mahdi*, who will restore and reform all things. This expectation finds support in the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.[2] So from time to time in the history of Islam, restless and ambitious spirits have set up claims to be *Mahdi*, and have won support from some credulous and spiritually starved people. Muhammad al-Hanifah, a son of Hazrat 'Ali, was the first person in this respect to be given the title of *Mahdi* by the adventurer, Mukhtar.[3] After that there appeared several Mahdis at various times in the ninth century of Hijra. These men who put forward their claims were the product of political or social upheaval. The first person to make this claim in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was Rukn of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah[4] (1351-88).

With the advent of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri a new chapter

[1] *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, II: 333.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 111-15. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, pp. 336-40. D. S. Margoliouth, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4. *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi*, ff. 44.

[4] *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 7-8. He was beheaded along with his followers and associates by Sultan Firuz Shah.

opened in the history of the *Mahdawi* idea. Most of the earlier Mahdis had been associated with political ambitions. Sayyid Muhammad's objectives were different. He aimed at the restoration of the purity of Islam.

He was born on Monday, the 14th Jamadi I, 847/9 Sept. 1443, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi.[1] This was the time when Jaunpur was passing through its golden period of intellectual attainments and material prosperity. Sayyid Muhammad's mother's name was Bibi Akha Malik and his father's name was Sayyid Khan.[2] Later on their names were changed to Sayyid 'Abdullah and Bibi Amina by his followers, who also claimed that miraculous incidents had accompanied his birth, reminiscent of those connected with the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.[3] His father was a pious man and was the disciple of Shaikh Daniyal Khizri.[4] Both his sons, Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Muhammad, were students of Shaikh Daniyal Khizri.[5] Sayyid Muhammad was very intelligent and had a prodigious memory. At seven he had already committed the holy Quran to memory. At the age of twelve his teacher honoured him with the title of *Asad-u'l-'Ulama*, *i.e.*, the lion of the learned.[6] Then at a very young age he started lecturing, which won the admiration of his teacher and others. It was an extraordinary thing to find a young student's cell thronged with pupils amongst whom one was a royal personage, *viz.*, Husain Sharqi.[7] At the age of forty in

[1] S. A. A. Rizvi, p. 70.

[2] S. A. A. Rizvi, p. 70. *Tazkirah*, pp. 197-98. The author of *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, incorrectly mentions his father's name as Yusuf, and Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, III, p. 174, writes his father's name Shaikh Bara. The author of *Tazkirah* calls him Sayyid Bodha Uwesi.

[3] *Tazkirah*, pp. 197-98. S. A. A. Rizvi, pp. 75-76.

[4] *Ibid.* Shaikh Daniyal was a disciple of Shaikh Raji Hamid Shah.

[5] *Ibid. Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, I: 467.

[6] *Tazkirah*, p. 198. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

[7] *Tazkirah*, p. 198. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58. The author of Tazkirah, p. 198, mentions that once he accompanied Sultan Husain Sharqi on a campaign against Dalip Rai of Gor; he led the army of fifteen hundred warriors and personally attacked and killed Dalip Rai. Also see *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

887/1482, in spite of Sultan Husain Sharqi's repeated requests, he took with him his wife and his son, Sayyid Mahmud,[1] Mian Shah Dilawar, Shaikh Bhika, and some other companions, and left Jaunpur to preach in other parts of the country.[2] During the journey he claimed to have received divine messages at Danapur to the effect that he would be a Mahdi. Passing through Kalpi and Chanderi, he reached Mandu in 892/1486-87, where he met Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Khalji (1469-1500).[3] The latter believed in his mission and presented him with many rich gifts such as beads of pearls and gold costing about one crore, but Sayyid Muhammad distributed them among the needy.[4] Many people here became his followers among whom one was a noble, Allahdad, a great scholar and poet and author of many books such as *Diwan-i-Mahmil*, *Risalah-i-Bar-i-Amanat*, *Risalah-i-Subut-i-Mahdwiat*, *Marsiya-i-Shaikh Jaunpuri* and *Diwan-i-Mahri*.[5] Allahdad became a very important asset to this movement and also afterwards became sixth *khalifah* of the Mahdi.[6] Then Sayyid Muhammad reached Champanir and encamped in a Jami' Mosque outside the city.[7] His learning and piety won him many followers. Among them were Sultan Mahmud Begarha (1454-1511), his sister and Mian Nizam.[8] Here his eldest wife, Bibi Alahdini, expired and was buried in the fort.[9] Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri now toured Burhanpur, Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar.[10] Next he went to Bidar where the ruler was Malik Burid.[11] Here many people, including scholars, acclaimed him a saint, and

[1] *Tazkirah*, p. 199.

[2] *Ibid. Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

[3] *Ibid. Tazkirah*, p. 199.

[4] *Ibid. Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58. S. A. A. Rizvi, p. 81.

[5] *Tazkirah*, p. 199. *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.* At this place Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah I (1490-1508) gave him a very good reception. S. A. A. Rizvi, p. 84.

[11] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.

people such as Shaikh Maman Tawakkuli, Qazi Ala-u'd-din and Qazi Muntakhab accepted discipleship from him.[1] When he left this place he had about three hundred followers.[2] Then he went to Gulbarga to pay a visit to the holy shrine of Shaikh Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz.[3] Now he left India on a pilgrimage and reached Mecca in 901/1495.[4] Here one day after circumambulating the Ka'ba in 901/1495-96 between *Rukn* (the Black Stone at the Ka'ba) and *Maqam* (the place where the prophet Ibrahim had prayed) he openly proclaimed himself Mahdi before a large gathering where Qazi 'Ala-u'd-din and Mian Nizam became witnesses.[5]

From Mecca without visiting Madina he returned to Ahmadabad in Gujarat and encamped in the Masjid of Taj Khan Gohar bin Salar, near Jamalpur gate.[6] Here his preaching attracted many more followers, and nobles such as Malik Gohar and Malik Burhan-u'd-din also entered his discipleship.[7] One day in the above-mentioned mosque in 903/1497-98 he claimed for the second time to be the promised Mahdi.[8] Many '*ulama* questioned his claim, but, in spite of their efforts, they failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the masses for him.[9] Sayyid Muhammad even claimed one day that "I can show the Lord of the world with the eyes of the flesh." This further alarmed the '*ulama*, who sought the help of Sultan Mahmud Begarha and unanimously signed a *fatwa* for his execution. But among those who sided with him was Maulana Taj.[10] Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri considered

[1] *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 58.
[2] *Tazkirah*, p. 199.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 137. *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, p. 34.
[10] *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, p. 34. The author of *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*, like Abu'l Fazl, is of opinion that he made this claim just in madness.

it wise to leave Ahmadabad, and settled in a village named Sola Santej in the vicinity of Ahmadabad. There one Mian Ni'mat Ullah, a reputed robber, enrolled himself as a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad. This Mian Ni'mat Ullah afterwards became a powerful instrument for the propagation of the Mahdawi Movement.[1] From there Sayyid Muhammad moved to Nahr Wala/ Patan in Gujarat.[2] Here he encamped on the bank of Hauz-i-Khan Sarwar. Many more people joined him here and among them were also Mian Sayyid Akhwand Mir and his family. Mian Sayyid Akhwand Mir (who belonged to the same line of Sayyids as that from which Sayyid Muhammad was descended) subsequently proved to be very eminent in the later history of the Mahdawi Movement.[3] Next Sayyid Muhammad lived at Bari for a year and a half, after which, at the age of fifty-six in 905/1499-1500, he repeated his claim to being the proved Mahdi.[4] He now wrote to contemporary monarchs for his mission and challenged all those who did not believe in his message. Thus neither exile nor the arguments of the *'ulama* could make him give up his claim. The *'ulama* again demanded his banishment from the country. Sultan Mahmud agreed and ordered Sayyid Muhammad to leave the country.[5] He was now the head of more than eight hundred followers and journeyed from place to place. Passing through the Jalor Jaisalmir, Thatta and Baluchistan, he reached Qandhar and from there went to Farah where he died on Monday, the 19th *Zu'l-qa'da* 910/23rd April, 1504, at the age of sixty-three.[6] During these nine years of travel he succeeded in convincing Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat,[7] Ahmad Nizam-u'l-Mulk of Ahmad Nagar, Malik Bodhan Khan of

[1] *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, p. 34. *Tazkirah*, p. 200.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Tazkirah*, pp. 200-1. He expired after nine months stay at Farah. But *Tajalli-i-Nur*, I: 60, mentions that he was assassinated at Farah, a town situated on the bank of the river Farah, in the heart of Afghanistan.

[7] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 137. *Zafar-u'l-Walih*, p. 36.

Jalor, Mirza Beg Arghun of Qandhar, Mirza Zun-nun Arghun (1469-1506) of Farah and a host of nobles and some of the *'ulama* of the validity of his claim.[1] Sayyid Muhammad's claim to be a promised Mahdi has very rightly been described by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami as a great revolt against his immediate political, cultural and religious environments. In fact, the age in which Sayyid Muhammad lived was a period of great tumult, confusion and unrest, and the rise and fall of kingdoms was a common occurrence. There was no strong central government to enforce obedience to the ordinances of *Shari'a*. Materialism, fraud and deceit were rampant everywhere. There were more worldly *'ulama* than God-fearing ones. The *sufis* had sought to defend the lawlessness of their misdeeds by pointing out the differences between *Shari'at* and *Tariqat*. Kings and nobles indulged in debauchery and licentiousness, seeing this, Sayyid Muhammad raised his voice for the revival of *Shari'at*.

Sayyid Muhammad achieved success owing to his sincerity and purity of character and the extent of his learning. His contemporaries considered him to be a man of great devotion and selflessness. He exercised a chastening and purifying influence upon his followers. Unlike that of previous claimants to Mahdihood, Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri's mission was essentially spiritual and religious. Even orthodox *mullas* could not question his piety and learning. He attracted all kinds of people. Even thieves and brigands would leave their profession to join him, dedicating their lives to God. He taught his contemporaries humanity for the sake of humanity. It was actually his honesty, integrity and selflessness which appealed to his audience and won their loyalty. He brightened the souls of his audience with the illuminating radiance of moral fervour.

His Mission

Sayyid Muhammad had proclaimed himself to be a Mahdi

[1] *Tazkirah*, pp. 199-201.

after a prolonged practice of twenty years. To him, God, His Prophet and the Quran were the only guides, and Islam revealed in the holy Book was the only religion to be followed. He claimed that whatever he said was in accord with the word of God and was uttered in conformity with His commandments. He tried to harmonise and reconcile the various Muslim sects, which he taught had sprung up as a consequence of allegorical and metaphysical interpretations of the teachings of the Prophet. He was always opposed to following these teachings blindly and in the same way did not like people to follow his teaching blindly, unless and until they had satisfied themselves.[1]

He generally preferred to live in some remote corner of the city, preferably in a mosque. Such places were called his *Da'ira*. There Sayyid Muhammad and his followers used to live according to the strict law of the *Shari'a*. Foremost among their religious practices was *Zikr*. This made the *'ulama* fear that the *Mahdawis* might move away from the orthodox path. But Sayyid Muhammad made it, *i.e.*, *Zikr*, obligatory and was of the opinion that everything which was harmful to its practice was unlawful, be it the quest of knowledge or the earning of livelihood or eating or sleeping.[2]

Hijrat, *i.e.*, migration, was another important duty which he enjoined. He and his followers did not stay in one place, and he used to say that the place where the preaching and practice of the tenets could be performed should be abandoned. He and his followers divided then the ordinance of the Quran into two groups. In the first group he included those commandments, associated with the *Shari'a*, which had been explained perfectly by the holy Prophet. In the second group he included those commandments which he said would be propagated by the last of the *Walis*, *i.e.*, himself, and in this connection he professed

[1] S. A. A. Rizvi, pp. 96-98.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

the following eight tenets.[1]

(1) *Tark-i-Dunya*: Renunciation of the world.
(2) *Suhbat-i-Sadiqin*: Company of the truthful.
(3) *'Uzlat az Khalq*: Seclusion from mankind.
(4) *Tawakkul*: Resignation to the Divine will.
(5) *Talab-i-Didar-i-Haqq*: Quest of the vision of God.
(6) *'Ushr*: Distribution of one-tenth of their income.
(7) *Zikr-i-Kasir*: Constant Zikr (Recollection).
(8) *Hijrat*: Migration.[2]

The *Mahdawis* were never interested in politics or any other worldly pomp and show. Though their master claimed to be the highest personage in the spiritual hierarchy, he nevertheless always considered himself a humble servant of God and the Prophet. The *Mahdawis* believed that their livelihood was from God and that one should honestly work for it. They never depended on gifts, and whatever they procured by joint effort, they distributed equally among all the members of *Da'ira*. But besides legal alms and *Zakat* the *Mahdawis* had to contribute one-tenth of their income to the funds of *Da'ira*. Members of *Da'ira* were strictly forbidden to marry the daughters of the new followers unless their sincerity had been tested for one year. The older members were permitted to marry.[3]

Mahdawi Da'iras

After Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri's death his son and successor, Sayyid Mahmud, found it necessary to expand the *Da'ira*. Thus afterwards several *Da'iras* sprang up which disseminated the *Mahdawi* teaching throughout India as well as beyond its frontiers. In India they focused their efforts on Gujarat, Khandesh and Ahmad Nagar, where they formed separate *Da'iras*. So

[1] S. A. A. Rizvi, pp. 102-5.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

far as the north was concerned *Da'iras* of this kind were established at Agra, Delhi and Nagaur. The following were its chief *Khalifahs:* Sayyid Mahmud, Sayyid Khwand Mir, Shah Ni'mat, Shah Nizam, Shah Dilawar, Malik Burhan-u'd-din, Malik Gauhar, Mian Malik, Malik Ma'ruf, Shah 'Abdul Majid Nuri, Mian Yusuf, Malik Alahdad and Shah Amin Ahmad.[1] These *Da'iras* were further multiplied owing to the banishment of Mahdawis from place to place and thus a network of their activities was established throughout India. These *Da'iras* were thronged with people who with great zeal responded to Sayyid Muhammad's mission.

Most of the later leaders were not men of learning, so they used local dialects for the propagation of this movement. Even the aphorisms of Sayyid Muhammad and of the pioneers of *Da'iras* were full of Hindi words and phrases, and men such as Shaikh Burhan of Kalpi[2] and Mian Mustfa Gujarati wrote Hindi poems as well in this respect. Thus the *Mahdawiya* preaching and writing also enlivened and enriched local vernaculars. Its followers believed in the equitable distribution of wealth. This aroused amongst the people a passion for unity and brotherhood, and also proved the moving spirit behind the abolition of poverty and vice.

[1] S. A. A. Rizvi, pp. 102-5.

[2] *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, f. 195b. *Bada'uni*, III: 6-8. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 276.

Appendix A

The Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans

We have not met with the coins of the two early rulers, Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar and Sultan Mubarak. But it is possible that both issued coins, as some of the hoards kept in the museums of Patna and elsewhere have not yet been deciphered.[1] The other four rulers issued a variety of coins which are to be found in the British Museum as well as in the museums of India and Pakistan.[2]

Sultan Ibrahim ruled from 803-844/1401-1440, Mahmud 844-862/1440-1457, Muhammad 862-863/1457-1458, and Husain 863-888/1458-1483 as Sultan of Jaunpur and 888-901/1483-1495 as Sultan of Bihar. Husain died in 911/1505. These facts have been proved in the previous chapters. Nevertheless we have met with

[1] S. Hasan Askari, *Indian History Congress Proceedings of the twenty-third session*, Aligarh, 1960, Part I, pp. 154-62, mentions that apart from Patna Museum there are in Bihar in private collections many copper coins of the Sharqis which have yet to be deciphered.

[2] *Vide* Catalogues of Coins of Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore and British Museums.

the coins of Ibrahim, dated 845, 846 and 847, whereas the coins of his successor, Mahmud, are also in existence dated in sequence from the year 844 A.H.[1] There are also bullion coins of Mahmud dated very clearly as 836 and 837 A.H.[2] The double issue of both during these years is unaccounted for in historical records. It shows that Ibrahim must have been of considerable age at the time of his death, and it is possible that his eldest son, Mahmud, declared his independence before his (Ibrahim's) demise.

Mahmud died in 862 A.H. and the coins of both his successors, Muhammad and Husain, exist dated 861, 862 and 863 A.H.[3] It seems likely that both brothers assumed power during the lifetime of their father (Mahmud), and undoubtedly both issued the coins in the same three years. Muhammad was killed in a dispute with Husain, and the latter assumed the royal insignia in 863 A.H.[4]

Husain was dethroned from Jaunpur in 888/1483. From the latter place coins were issued first by Bahlul in 888 to 893 A.H. and then by Barbak Shah in 892 to 895 A.H.[5] Husain remained ruler of Bihar until 901/1495 and died at Colgong in 911/1505.[6] But his coins run irregularly up to 919/1513, which seems

[1] *Vide* Coins No. 53 and 62 of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and coins No. 265, 266, 275, 276 and 277 of the British Museum Collection.

[2] *Vide* Coin No. 285 of the British Museum Collection.

[3] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (The Muhammadan States), pp. 102-3, and *vide* British Museum Collection Coins No. 296, 297 and 301. Also see on Plate No. XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Muhammad's Coin, dated 862 A.H.

[4] Firishta, II: 601.

[5] *Vide Indian Museum Calcutta Coins* No. 579-80 and 81 and E. Thomas' collection coin No. 322. For details see S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum* (Vol. II, The Muhammadan States), as well as "*The Coins of Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*," edited by S. Lane-Poole. Also E. Thomas, *The Chroniclers of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.*

[6] His coins run continuously up to 911/1505. *Vide* Coins No. 140, 154 and 155 of the *Indian Museum Calcutta*, Coins No. 321, 322, 323 and 324, British Museum Collection, as well as C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins* in the Government Museum, Lahore, p. 105. For further details also see H. M. Whittel, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. VII. Husain's one coin dated 909 A.H./1505. See Husain's coin in the British Museum No. 325. Also see on Plate XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Husain's Coin dated 909 A.H./1503.

to be posthumous, and might have been issued by his successor, (Sultan) Jalal-u'd-din Sharqi.[1]

All four coined in bullion and copper. Ibrahim and Mahmud also coined in silver. Except Muhammad, all the rest coined in gold.

Gold

Ibrahim issued two types of coins in this metal, and Mahmud and Husain apparently minted only the second type of their predecessor.[2]

Type I complies with the normal weight of 148 to 175.4 grs.[3] It bears a close resemblance to the gold issue of Fath Khan Tughluq.[4] The legend on the obverse of this type consists of a central inscription enclosed in a circle with a marginal legend giving the date in Arabic words forming the formula "minted as a dinar in the year—". The central inscription reads:

فی زمن الامام امیرالمومنین ابوالفتح خلدت خلافته

"In the time of *Imam*, Commander of the Faithful, Father of Victory, may his *Khilafat* be perpetuated."

The reverse legend which occupies the full face of the coin reads:

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر ابراهیم شاه السلطانی خلدت مملکته

"The supreme sovereign, the sun of the world and religion, *Abu'l-Muzaffar* Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan, may his kingdom be perpetuated."[5]

[1] H. M. Whittel, *op. cit.*

[2] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. 95, B.M.C. No. 263, and 576-77. Also see on Plate XVIII, *The Gold Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Ibrahim's coin dated 830 A.H., 831 A.H. and 842 A.H., Mahmud's coin dated 840 A.H. and Husain's coin dated 870 A.H.

[3] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 18N.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] B.M.C. No. 223. Also see on Plate XVIII, *The Gold Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Ibrahim's Coin No. 2, (*i.e.*, B.M.C. No. 223).

Type II (Tughra type). It is copied from the issue of Jalal-u'd-din Muhammad Shah of Bengal.[1] The obverse legend follows that of type I, except that the title, "Commander of the Faithful", is altered to نائب اميرالمومنين "Deputy-Commander of the Faithful." Its marginal inscription, however, remains the same. On the reverse Ibrahim expresses his religious belief by prefixing to his title the legend:

"The one who trusts in the support of the Merciful."

الواثق بتائيد الرحمن

Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan.[2]

ابوالمظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان

This type of Ibrahim's coins weigh from 172 to 178.5 grs.[3]

The coins of Mahmud and Husain in this type bear the same obverse legend as those of Ibrahīm, but the reverse legend in the case of the issue of Mahmud reads:

سيف الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه ابراهيم شاه السلطان

("Minted by) the Sultan *Saif-u'd-dunya wa-d-din Abul Mujahid* (son of) Ibrahim".[4]

Mahmud's coins weigh 175 to 185.2 grs.[5]

The legend on the reverse of the coin of Husain reads:

المويد بتائيد الرحمن حسين شاه محمود شاه ابراهيم شاه السلطان خلد الله مملكته

"Strengthened in the support of God, Husain Shah, (son of) Mahmud Shah (son of) Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan, may his kingdom be perpetuated."[6]

[1] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 19N.

[2] See Plate XVIII. Ibrahim's Coin No. 3.

[3] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 19N.

[4] B.M.C. No. 263. Also see on Plate XVIII, *The Gold Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, p. 547, Mahmud's Coin No. 1.

[5] H. M. Whittel, *op. cit*.

[6] B.M.C. Nos. 576 and 577. Also see Plate XVIII.

Husain's coins of this type weigh 180 to 184 grs.[1]

Silver

One square silver coin of Ibrahim has come to light, similar to those of type II, in gold, of the same ruler, except that the legend on the obverse is arranged in a square instead of in a circle.[2]

One coin of Mahmud which weighs 176 grs., has also been found which is similar to type II of his (Mahmud's) gold issue. It seems that it was struck from a gold die of type II.[3]

Bullion

Ibrahim coined two types in this metal.

Type I. The obverse reads: الخليفه اميرالمومنين خلد خلافته (date)

"The *Khalif*, Commander of the Faithful, may his *khilafat* be perpetuated."

followed by the date in figures.

The reverse reads: شاه ابراهيم سلطانی خلدت مملكته

"Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan, may his kingdom be perpetuated."[4]

The average weight of his coins of this type is 140.1 grs.

Type II. It bears the legends already described under type I. There is, however, no date on the coin, and the obverse legend is somewhat differently arranged.[5] The average weight in this type is 55.45 grs.[6]

[1] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 19 N.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20 N.

[4] B.M.C. No. 226. Also see on Plate XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of Sharqi Sultans*, Ibrahim's Coin No. 1.

[5] B.M.C. No. 261. Also see on Plate XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Ibrahim's Coin No. 2.

[6] H. M. Whittel, p. 341.

Mahmud, Muhammad and Husain coined in this metal, continuing Ibrahim's traditions in these two types, the only difference being the prefixing of the words:

"Mahmud Shah, son of"

"Muhammad Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, son of"

"Husain Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, son of"[1]

The average weight of their coins is as follows:

Mahmud Shah	145.3 grs.
Muhammad Shah	150 grs.
Husain Shah	150.7 grs.[2]

Mahmud introduced a third type and Husain a fourth. The third type of Mahmud is confined to a single issue. As all the known copies bear only one date (A.H. 849), its issue may have been limited to one year.[3]

The obverse legend of his name in this type is in a double circle with a marginal legend.

"*Saif-u'd-dunya wa-d-din Abul Muzaffar*" سيف الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
The reverse legend reads:

"Son of Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan" بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان
followed by the date in figures.[4] This coin weighs 66 grs.[5]

Copper

There are three types of coin of all four rulers in this metal.

[1] B.M.C. Nos. 294, 296, 336. Also see on Plate XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Mahmud's coin No. 4, Muhammad's coin No. 2 and Husain's coin No. 4.

[2] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 21N.

[3] *Vide* Plate XIX, *op. cit.*, Mahmud's coin No. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] H. M. Whittel, *op. cit.*

Type I. In this type Ibrahim's traditions were continued by his successors.

The obverse bears the inscription:

"The *Khalif*, Father of Victory" الخليفه ابوالفتح
followed by the date in figures; the reverse reading is:

"Ibrahim Shah, the Sultan," ابراهيم شاه سلطان [1]

The succeeding kings retained the same obverse as well as reverse, of course with the exception of their names.[2]

All four kings issued this type of coinage in two sizes. The larger size of their coins is commonly met with, whereas the smaller one is scarce. The average weight of the first size of Ibrahim is 67.5 grs. Mahmud 70 grs, Muhammad 69 grs, and Husain 67.2 grs. The average weight in the second size of Ibrahim is 31.7 grs and Mahmud 33.7 grs,[3] but the weight of the coins of this type issued by Muhammad and Husain has not been estimated in this respect.

Type II was issued only by Mahmud.

Both faces of this type have legends similar to those of type I, except that there is no date on the reverse, the figures being replaced by the words, "May his *Khilafat* be perpetuated."[4] The average weight of this type is 56.8 grs.[5]

Type III was originally introduced by Mahmud and was continued by his two successors.

[1] B.M.C. Nos. 226, 261 and 262. Also see on Plate XIX, "*The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*," Ibrahim's Coins Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

[2] See Mahmud and Husain's coins on Plate XIX, *op. cit*.

[3] H. M. Whittel, *Numismatic Supplement*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 23N.

[4] B.M.C. No. 294. Also see on Plate XIX, *The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans*, Mahmud's Coin No. 4.

[5] H. M. Whittel, *op. cit*., p. 24N. Also see on Plate XIX, *op. cit*., Husain's Coin No. 5.

The obverse legend consists of the name of the king in a circle with a marginal legend, in the case of Mahmud:

"Son of Ibrahim Shah the Sultan" بن ابراهیم شاه سلطان

The reverse reads:

"Deputy-Commander of the Faithful" نائب امیرالمومنین
with the date in figures below.

Muhammad and Husain exactly copied the type of their father, except that the two brothers prefixed the names of their father to the genealogical marginal legend.

The average weight of coins of Mahmud in this type is 145 grs and of Husain 145.12 grs. But Muhammad's coins have not yet been weighed.

The following table is perhaps the best means of showing the sequence of types in the issues of coinage of Ibrahim, Mahmud, Muhammad and Husain.

TABLE 1

GOLD		SILVER	BULLION				COPPER			
Type I	Type II		Type I		Type II	Type III	Type I		Type II	Type III
			1st size	2nd size			1st size	2nd size		
Ibrahim	Ibrahim	Ibrahim	Ibrahim	Ibrahim	×	×	Ibrahim	Ibrahim	×	×
×	Mahmud	Mahmud	Mahmud	×	Mahmud	Mahmud	Mahmud	Mahmud	Mahmud	Mahmud
×	×	×	Muham-mad	×	×	×	Muham-mad	Muham-mad	×	Muham-mad
×	Husain	×	Husain	×	×	×	Husain	Husain	×	Husain

Appendix B

The Later Sharqis

Sultan Husain's son, Jalal-u'd-din, *i.e.*, Sultan Jalal-u'd-din Sharqi, was married to the daughter of Nasib Shah (1493-1518) of Bengal.[1] Sultan Jalal-u'd-din, like his father, passed his days in the faint hope of getting back his paternal throne of Jaunpur. In spite of the fact that the Lodi Amirs had established their power in Jaunpur and Bihar during the previous years, Sultan Jalal-u'd-din never lost hope of re-conquering Jaunpur. A new opportunity arose for him when Sultan Muhammad Lohani of Bihar died (1528) and dissension broke out among the rival chiefs—Baban Shahukhel, son of Mian 'Ata Shahukhel, Bayazid and Sher Khan Sur—for the throne of Bihar.[2] Jalal-u'd-din, perhaps with the hope of recovering Jaunpur, joined Babur, the formidable enemy of the Lodis. Babur appointed him governor of Banaras as well as commander of one of the divisions of his army.[3] On the other hand, the Afghans to prevent disaster invited Mahmud Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi, and the latter, ousting Jalal Khan, son of Sultan Muhammad (Bahar Khan Lohani), ascended the throne of Bihar (1528).[4] This situation diverted Babur's attention, who immediately sent an army under his son, Mirza 'Askari (7 Rabi' II, 935/19th December, 1528), and after-

[1] Bada'uni, I: 311-12. 'Abdullah, p. 53. *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 20. The latter is mistaken in writing that Nasib Shah had no male issue so that when he died he was succeeded by Jalal Khan, who entitled himself Sultan Jalal-u'd-din. In fact, Nasib Shah had eighteen sons of whom the eldest, Nasib Khan, succeeded him under the title of Nasir-u'd-din Nusrat Shah (1518-33).

[2] Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 347. A. Halim, p. 206.

[3] W. Erskine, p. 499.

[4] A. Halim, p. 207. K. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 57. *Vide* H. N. Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 256, for the only coin of Sultan Mahmud Lodi dated 935/1528. Mahmud Lodi after the Rajput defeat at Khanua by Babur had fled to Chitor, from where he had withdrawn to Baghel Khand (Rewa). He was at the latter place when he was invited to ascend the throne of Bihar.

wards followed him *via* Chandwar, Rapri, Etawah and Kara.[1] Jalal-u'd-din Sharqi, who had been ousted from Banaras by the Lodis, received Babur at Kara, and gave him a sumptuous feast on the banks of the Ganges (March, 1429).[2] Later on Babur marched against the Lodi opposition, with the result that Sultan Mahmud Lodi and his allies were defeated at Chaunsa and Buxar.[3] Mahmud Lodi leaving some of his elephants in the hands of his enemy, fled to Bengal and sought asylum with Nusrat Shah of Bengal (1518-32).[4] With this final overthrow of the Afghans, Babur realized all his hopes, but Sultan Jalal-u'd-din Sharqi did not succeed in his object. Soon afterwards he expired and was buried at Jaunpur.[5]

Sultan Jalal-u'd-din's son, Mahmud Khan, was permitted by Babur to entitle himself Sultan,[6] and was similarly honoured by Humayun. During his struggle against Sher Shah Suri, Humayun wrote to Sultan Mahmud that he would hand him over the provinces of Bihar and Jaunpur, if he (Sultan Mahmud) could help him to dispossess Sher Shah Suri.[7] At this Sultan Mahmud (Sharqi) marched out with a large number of cavalry and met Humayun, who received him with great honour.[8] Humayun then put a large number of his own cavalry under Sultan Mahmud

[1] A. Halim, pp. 207-8.

[2] K. Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62. W. Erskine, p. 499. Mrs. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur*, p. 651.

[3] *Tabaqat*, III: 271. A. Halim, p. 208.

[4] *Tabaqat*, III: 271. A. Halim, p. 208. L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, pp. 168-69. Mahmud Lodi was Sultan Nusrat Shah's uncle-in-law, for he was married to the daughter of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Nusrat Shah fixed a pension for Sultan Mahmud Lodi. When Sher Shah Suri conquered Bengal, Mahmud Lodi died in exile in Orissa in 949/1542. 'Abbas Khan Shirwani and 'Abdullah give his date of death as 947/1537, and Ni'mat Ullah, 1542. The latter seems to be right. With the fall of Mahmud Lodi at the hands of Babur, Lodi opposition came to an end.

[5] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 21.

[6] A. Halim, p. 208.

[7] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 21.

[8] *Ibid.* The number of cavalry mentioned by Khair-u'd-din, Muhammad seems to be exaggerated.

and posted him against Sher Shah.[1] A battle took place at Chunar in which Mahmud (Sharqi) being injured fell from his horse, with the result that Sher Shah got the upper hand.[2] When the battle was over Sher Shah rushed towards the dying Sultan Mahmud and begged his forgiveness and also asked him for his last will.[3] Mahmud expired and Sher Shah sent his body with great honour to Jaunpur, where he was buried.[4] Sher Shah also handed over to Mahmud's dependants the royal residences of Jaunpur, and entitled them to its revenue for their expenses.[5]

When Humayun returned from Persia and reconquered Delhi, he called Sultan Husain, son of Sultan Mahmud (Sharqi) to Delhi, showed him paternal kindness and, bestowing upon him the title of '*Umar Khan* along with the *mansab* of 7,000, also gave him the *jagir* of Bihar.[6] Reaching Jaunpur, Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan* restored the royal monuments of his ancestors and at the same time added there one *Muhalla*, one *Sarai* and a *Bazar* in his own name.[7] Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan* also administered his own *jagir*.

During the reign of Akbar some of Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan's* enemies reported to Akbar that he (Husain) was looking forward to proclaim his independence.[8] When this news reached Sultan Husain, he gave away all his wealth and belongings to the poor as a form of charity, settled at Jaunpur, and took to a saintly life.[9] Though Akbar asked him to resume his *Jagir*, he retired in favour of his son, Qutb Khan.[10] Akbar honoured Qutb Khan

1 *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 21.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, Ghulam Hasan, f. 16b.

4 *Ibid. Jaunpur Nama*, p. 21.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

with all the privileges which his father, Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan*, had enjoyed.[1] Qutb Khan was succeeded by his son, Hasan Khan.[2] In the reign of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir when *Jagirs* were confiscated, Muhammad Khan and Mahmud Khan, sons of Hasan Khan, were compensated in cash.[3] After Bahadur Shah's accession, a small *Jagir* around Jaunpur was given to Murad Shah and Muhammad Shah, sons of Jalal Khan (son of Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan*).[4] During the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1719-20 when *Jagirs* of pious men and of other *Jagirdars* of Jaunpur were confiscated by Nawab Sa'adat Khan, only a few villages in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur were given to Husain Shah and Hasan Shah, sons of Muhammad Shah (son of Jalal Shah son of Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan*), for the expenses of a Masjid, a *Khanqah* and a *Madrasa*.[5] Nawab Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Awadh, afterwards restored the former *Jagir* to them including the income of a *Muhalla* and a *Bazar* once built by their great grandfather, *i.e.*, Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan*.[6] But the officers of Shuja'u'd-daula, the Nawab of Awadh, again confiscated a good part of their *Jagir*, and left them only two villages along with the income of a *Muhalla* and a *Bazar*, the one mentioned above.[7] Later on both villages were again confiscated and thus the income of the *Muhalla* and the *Bazar* remained the only source of income of the descendants of Husain Shah and Hasan Shah, sons of Muhammad Shah, grandson of Sultan Husain '*Umar Khan*.[8] In due course of time the descendants of the Sharqis such as Karam Shah and Ghulam Husain, leaving princehood, preferred the lives of saints.[9]

[1] *Jaunpur Nama*, p. 22.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*

Appendix C

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SHARQIS

(1) Sultan-ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar
(1394-1399 A.D.)

- (2) (Malik Qaranfal) Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi, adopted son (1399-1401 A.D.)
- (3) (Ibrahim Shah) Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (1401-1440 A.D.) brother of Sultan Mukarak Shah Sharqi.
  - (4) (Mahmud Khan) Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi (1440-1457 A.D.).
    - (5) (Bhikan Khan) Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi (1457-1458 A.D.).
    - Hasan Khan
    - (6) Husain Khan. Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi, King of Jaunpur, 1458-1483 A.D. King of Bihar 1483-1495 A.D. (died in 1505 A.D. at Colgong).
    - Jalal Khan
    - Ladli Begum. Her name is commemorated by a palace, though now in ruins, founded by Malika Bibi Raji.
  - Unknown prince, a *murid* of Sayyid Sadr Jahan Ajmal.
  - Nasir Khan. His name is commemorated by a fort of Nasirabad which was founded by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. This fort stands near Ja'is in the district of Rai Bareilly.
  - Daughter, married to Sayyid Murtaza Shah S/o Sadr-u'd-din *Chiragh-i-Hind* of Zafarabad.
- Mukhtas Khan, brother of Sultan Mubarak and Sultan Ibrahim.

Empty title-holders

Jalal Khan (Sultan Jalal-u'd-din Sharqi, married to a daughter of Nasib Shah (1493-1518) of Bengal. He joined Babur's campaign (1529 A.D.) against the Lodis.

Sultan Mahmud, (died fighting against Sher Shah, on behalf of Humayun).

Sultan Husain 'Umar Khan—a *Jagirdar* of Bihar during Humayun and Akbar's reign. He held the *Mansab* of 7,000.

- Qutb Khan—He held a *Jagir* in Bihar during Akbar's reign. He also held the Mansab of 7,000.
  - Hasan Khan—He had the same position as that of his father
    - Muhammad Khan
    - Mahmud Khan (Aurangzeb 'Alamgir's reign)

    (Both were compensated in cash.)
- Jalal Shah
  - Murad Shah
  - Muhammad Shah around Jaunpur. (Bahadur Shah's reign)
    - Husain Shah (Muhammad Shah's reign)
    - Hasan Shah

  (Both had small *Jagirs*)

Appendix D

Chronology

Dynastic Lists

(A) *Kings of Delhi*

1. Slave Kings

A.H.		A.D.
602	Qutb-u'd-din Aibak	1206
607	Aram Shah	1210
607	Shams-u'd-din Iltutmish	1211
633	Rukn-u'd-din Firuz	1236
634	Raziya	1236
637	Mu'izz-u'd-din Bahram	1240
639	'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud	1242
644	Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud	1246

2. House of Bablan

664	Ghiyas-u'd-din Balban	1266
686	Mu'izz-u'd-din Kaiqubad	1287

3. Khaljis

689	Jalal-u'd-din Firuz	1290
695	Rukn-u'd-din Ibrahim	1296
695	'Ala-u'd-din Muhammad	1296
715	Shihab-u'd-din 'Umar	1316
716	Qutb-u'd-din Mubarak	1316
720	Nasir-u'd-din Khusrav (Usurper)	1320

4. Tughluqs

A.H.		A.D.
720	Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq I	1320
725	Muhammad Tughluq	1325
752	Firuz Tughluq	1351
790	Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq II	1388
791	Abu Bakr Tughluq	1389
792	Muhammad Tughluq	1390
795	Sikandar Tughluq	1394
795	Mahmud Tughluq	1394
797	Nusrat Shah (Interregnum)	1396
801	Mahmud Tughluq (restored)	1399
815	Daulat Khan Lodi	1413

5. Sayyids

817	Khizr Khan	1414
824	Mu'izz-u'd-din Mubarak	1421
837	Muhammad	1434
847	'Ala-u'd-din 'Alam Shah	1444

6. Lodi

855	Bahlul Lodi	1451
894	Sikandar Lodi	1489
923-932	Ibrahim Lodi	1517-1526

(B) *Kings of Bengal*

(1) *Eastern Bengal*

739	Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah	1338
750-753	Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Ghazi Shah	1349-1352

(Iliyas of Western Bengal)

(2) *Western Bengal and all Bengal*

A.H.		A.D.
742	‘Ala-u’d-din ‘Ali Shah	1341
743	Haji Shams-u’d-din Iliyas Bhangara	1343
758	Sikandar Shah	1357
795	Ghiyas-u’d-din A‘zam Shah	1393
813	Saif-u’d-din Hamza	1410
815	Shihab-u’d-din Bayazid	1412
817	Ganesh of Bhaduria (‘Kans Narayan’)	1414
817	Jadu, alias Jalal-u‘d-din Muhammad Shah	1414
835	Shams-u’d-din Ahmad Shah	1431
846	Nasir-u’d-din Mahmud Shah	1442
864	Rukn-u’d-din Barbak Shah	1460
879	Shams-u’d-din Yusuf Shah	1474
886	Sikandar Shah	1481
886	Jalal-u’d-din Fath Shah	1481
891	Barbak the Eunuch, Sultan Shahzada	1486
891	Malik Indil Firuz Shah	1486
894	Nasir-u’d-din Mahmud Shah	1489
897	Sidi Badr Shams-u’d-din Muzaffar Shah	1490
900	Sayyid ‘Ala-u’d-din Husain	1493
924	Nasir-u’d-din Nusrat Shah	1518
939	‘Ala-u’d-din Firuz Shah	1533
939	Sultan Mahmud	1533
945	Humayun, Emperor of Delhi	1538
945	Sher Shah Sur	1539
947	Khizr Khan	1540
952	Muhammad Khan Sur	1545

A.H.		A.D.
962	Khizr Khan Bahadur Shah	1555
968	Ghiyas-u'd-din Jalal Shah	1561
971	(Son of preceding)	1564
972	Taj Khan Kararani	1564
980	Sulaiman Kararani	1572
980	Bayazid Khan Kararani	1572
980-984	Daud Khan Kararani	1572-1576

(C) *Bahmani Kings of the Deccan*

748	'Ala-u'd-din Bahman Shah	1347
759	Muhammad I	1358
776	Mujahid	1375
779	Daud	1378
780	Muhammad II	1378
799	Ghiyas-u'd-din	1397
799	Shams-u'd-din	1397
800	Taj-u'd-din Firuz	1397
825	Ahmad, Vali	1422
839	'Ala-ud'-din Ahmad	1436
862	Humayun Zalim	1458
865	Nizam	1461
867	Muhammad III Lashkari	1463
887	Mahmud	1482
924	Ahmad	1518
927	'Ala-u'd-din	1521
928	Wali-Ullah	1522
931-934	Kalimullah	1525-1527

(D) *The Faruqi Khans and Kings of Khandesh*

A.H.		A.D.
784	Raja Ahmad Malik Raja	1382
801	Nasir Khan	1399
840	'Adil Khan I	1437
844	Mubarak Khan Chaukanda	1441
861	'Adil Khan II 'Aina	1457
907	Daud Khan	1501
914	Ghazni Khan	1508
914	Hasan Khan	1508
914	'Alam Khan (Usurper)	1508
914	'Adil Khan III ('Alam Khan)	1509
926	Miran Muhammad Shah I	1520
943	Ahmad Shah	1537
943	Mubarak Shah II	1537
974	Muhammad Shah II	1566
984	Hasan Shah	1576-77
985	'Adil Shah IV (Raja 'Ali Khan)	1577-78
1006-1009	Bahadur Shah (Qadr Khan)	1597-1601

(E) *The Kings of Malwa*

(1) Ghuris

794	Dilavar Khan Ghuri	1392
808	Hushang Shah	1405
838	Muhammad Shah (Ghazni Khan)	1435
839	Mas'ud	1436

(2) Khaljis

839	Mahmud I	1436
873	Ghiyas-u'd-din	1469
905	Nasir-u'd-din	1500
916-937	Mahmud II	1510-1531

(F) *The Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur*

A.H.		A.D.
796	Malik Sarwar Khwaja-i-Jahan	1394
802	Malik Qaranful Mubarak Shah	1399
804	Shams-u'd-din Ibrahim Shah	1401
804	Mahmud Shah	1440
862	Muhammad Shah	1457
863-888-901	Husain Shah	1458-1483-95

(G) *The Kings of Gujarat*

798	Muzaffar I	1396
814	Ahmad I	1411
846	Muhammad I, Karim	1442
855	Qutb-u'd-din	1451
862	Daud	1458
862	Mahmud I	1458
917	Muzaffar II	1511
932	Sikandar	1526
932	Mahmud II	1526
932	Bahadur	1526
943	Muhammad II	1537
943	Mahmud III	1537
961	Ahmad II	1554
967-980	Muzaffar III	1562-1572

Glossary

Afsar-u'l-Itibba. Officer in charge of the Physicians; Chief Physician.

Aftab-i-Hind. A title, The Sun of India.

'Alim. Sing. of *'ulama*, a man of religious learning (q.v.).

'Amalguzar. A revenue collector, usually the head of a district or *pargana* (q.v.).

'Amil. Under the Mughuls, a revenue collector, but the term had more general application during the sultanate.

Amin. A revenue assessor, who decided the government's share of the produce of the land.

Amir. During the sultanate, a designation for officers of the third rank. Later, *amir*, and the plural, *umara*, were used for "noblemen" in general, and to indicate officials of high rank.

Amir-i-Dad. The law officer who carried out the decisions of the judges. Appeals from a *qazi's* (q.v.) judgment could be made to him, and he investigated complaints made against high officials.

Amir Hajib. An official of great prestige, who superintended all court ceremonies, regulated protocol, and controlled contacts between the ruler and his subjects. "Lord Chamberlain" is the usual translation.

Amir-u'l-'Umara. Literally, chief of nobles. This was a title conferred by a ruler, rather than an office.

Amiran-i-Sadah. A hundred amirs, centurions.

'Ariz-i-Mumalik. The official during the sultanate responsible for the administration of the army, including recruitment, payment of salaries, supplies, and transportation. The office was similar to that of the *mir bakhshi* under the Mughals. See *bakhshi.*

'Arz (or *Diwan-i-'Arz*). The department of government under the sultanate concerned with maintaining the army. Usually translated "War Office" or "Ministry of War".

Atabak-i-'Azam. (From *ata*, a father, and *bak*, lord). The greatest Lord Father.

Badi' Manzil. The Wonderful House.

Badshah. See padshah.

Bakhshi. Under the Mughuls, the official who kept the army records and paid the troops. The chief paymaster in the central administration was known as the *mir bakhshi*, and there were subordinate *bakhshis* in the provinces.

Ba'oli. A large well into which people descend by means of steps to get water.

Baradari. A summer house with twelve doors (three on each side).

Barid. Official in charge of intelligence and newsgathering. The *barid-i-mumalik* was the head of the central office, and his agents sent in reports from all over the country. This system was of great importance in controlling local governments.

Bhakti. In Hinduism, devotion offered to a deity, with an emphasis on love and self-surrender.

Caliph (*khalifah*). A representative or successor; the title adopted

by the rulers of the Islamic community, indicating that, as successors of Muhammad, they were both spiritual and temporal leaders. After the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258 the title was held by various rulers, including the Ottoman sultans. The office is referred to as the caliphate or *khilafat*.

Chilla. A title. The Forty days of Lent, in which the religious people retire to their cells or mosques and engage themselves in fasting and divine worship.

Chiragh-i-Hind. A title. The Lamp of India.

Chishtiya Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq (ob. 940 A.D.). For details see pp. 223-226.

Darbar. The court of a ruler, or an audience granted by him.

Dar-u'l-Aman. Abode of Peace.

Dar-u'l-'Ilm. Abode of Knowledge.

Dar-u'l-Surur. Abode of Bliss.

Dargah. A shrine, a mosque: tomb of a reputed saint.

Deccan. India south of the Vindhya Mountains, but more particularly the interior plateau.

Derwesh. Poor, indigent; a monk.

Din. Religion.

Diwan. 1. A ministry or department; but under the Mughuls it meant specifically the financial or revenue ministry (*diwani*). 2. In the provincial administration the *diwan* had judicial power in civil cases as well as having control of revenue collection. 3. The term was also applied to the royal court and the council that advised the ruler. 4. The word is also used for the collected works of a poet.

Diwan-i-Amir-i-Kuhi. Department concerned with the cultivation of new areas and improving the existing crops, *i.e.*, the Department of Agriculture.

Diwan-i-'Arz. See *'Arz*.

Diwan-i-Khalisah (khalisa). The office concerned with the lands reserved as sources of revenue for the state.

Doab. "Two rivers". The land lying between two rivers, particularly the area between the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Faqir. Poor, one who leads a life of poverty with resignation and content.

Fiqh. Islamic jurisprudence, or the science of interpreting the *Shari'at* (q.v.). There are four orthodox schools: *Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki,* and *Shafi'i.* The sources of *fiqh* are the *Quran, hadis, ijma,* and *qiyas* (q.v.).

Gaddi (*gadi*). The cushion or seat on which a ruler sits, hence, "throne."

Ghazal. A short poem, usually on a theme dealing with love.

Hadis. A saying or reported action of Prophet Muhammad that is not found in the Quran, but that is accepted as a source of *fiqh* (q.v.).

Hafiz. One who knows the whole Quran by heart, a guardian, a preserver.

Hajj. Annual pilgrimage made to Mecca; every Muslim is supposed to make the journey at least once in a lifetime.

Hanafi. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See *fiqh.*

Hanbali. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See *fiqh.*

Hindustani. 1. Any native of North India (Hindustan). 2. The term was applied to the Indian converts to Islam. 3. As an adjective it is used to describe the products of the fusion of Islamic and Hindu influences, *e.g.*, Hindustani music.

Ijma'. The consensus of the Islamic community as a source of law. See *fiqh.*

Ijtihad. Use of individual reasoning.

'Ilm. Knowledge.

'Ilm-u'l-Hadis. The science of *Hadis.*

Imam. A leader of the Islamic community. Among the *Shi'as* (q.v.), the descendants of 'Ali.

Iman. Faith.

Inam. A gift or reward; particularly applied to lands which were granted rent-free.

Iqta'. A form of grant made by the sultans. The grantee had rights of revenue collection, but not property rights, which were retained by the state. This tenure corresponded to the *jagir* (q.v.) of the Mughuls.

Jagir. The term used during Mughul rule for *iqta'* tenures. The holder of land under the *jagir* system was known as a *jagirdar*. The assignment of land was usually made for a lifetime, and it was not inheritable. *Jagir* tenures were different from *inam* (q.v.) in that they carried an obligation to perform services for the state.

Jawalaq. Followers of the *Qalandariya* Order. Those *qalandars* who wrapped a blanket round their body were called *Jawalaqs*. For details see p. 270.

Jihad. A righteous war against unbelievers.

Jizya. Tax paid by *zimmis* (q.v.) in a Muslim society.

Ka'ba. A sacred shrine at Mecca.

Kafir. An infidel, an impious person.

Kalam. Classical Muslim scholastic theology.

Kalimah. Muslim attestation of faith in the Unity of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad.

Karor. Ten million or one hundred *Lakhs* (q.v.).

Khalifah. See caliph.

Khalisah. See *diwan-i-khalisah*.

Khan. A Turkish title. Under the sultanate it designated a particular rank in the military service, but it was frequently used to indicate ethnic affiliations (*e.g.* the Pathans) or by anyone claiming its connotation of "brave" and "heroic."

Khanqah. A hospice where the sufi Shaikh and his disciples live.

Kharaj. Originally the tribute paid by conquered populations, but in India it came to mean simply the land tax, or the proportion of the produce claimed by the state.

Khirqah. A patched garment; dress of a religious mendicant.

Khirqah-i-Khilafat. The mantle of spirituality which a *Pir* (q.v.) bestows upon his disciple.

Khutbah. Sermon delivered in the mosque on Fridays. Mention in it of a ruler's name was a declaration of a claim for sovereignty.

Khwaja. A man of distinction; a governor; lord, master.

Khwaja-i-Jahan. The title of a wazir or other great dignitary; lord or master of the world.

Khwaja-Sara. A eunuch; chief of household: one who has charge of a seraglio.

Kos. A land measure, varying in different parts of India from one mile to two.

Kotwal. A term applied to various local officials, but usually to the officer who was responsible for police functions in a town or rural area.

Lakh. One hundred thousand.

Madariya-Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Shah Madar. For details see p. 274.

Madrasa. A school for Islamic studies, usually associated with a mosque.

Mahdi. A *Messiah;* the twelfth *Imam* of the *Shi'as*, expected to return in order to purify Islam.

Malamatiya-Silsilah. A sufi order—whose followers conceal their devotions, make no parade of anything good, and hide nothing bad.

Malik. A possessor. A title indicating a military rank under the Sultanate.

Malika. Queen.

Malika-i-Jahan. A title, queen of the world.

Maliki. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See *fiqh*.

Malik-u'l-'Ulama. A title, head of the men of religious learning.

Malik-ush-Sharq. The owner or possessor of the eastern dominion.

Manqulat. Traditional sciences.

Mansab. A rank in the Mughul army based on the number of horsemen the officer was supposed to bring into the field. *Mansabdars*, the holders of the rank, were graded from those responsible for ten horses up to those who were responsible for ten thousand.

Ma'qulat. Rational sciences.

Masjid. Mosque.

Maund. A measure of weight, roughly equal to eighty pounds, but varying greatly in different areas.

Mazhab. Religious seat or school of law, used by different schools of jurisprudence.

Mihrab. The principal place in a mosque, where the *Imam* (prayer leader) leads the people in prayers with his face towards Mecca.

Millat. Religious community, (especially the community of Islam).

Mimbar. A pulpit, a high chair, a reading desk.

Mir Bakhshi. See *bakhshi*.

Mufti. One whose sentence has the authority of the law, an expounder of the Islamic law, giver of a *fatwa*, a magistrate.

Muhaddis. An orthodox believer in Muhammadan traditions.

Muhalla. A subdivision of a city.

Muhar. A seal, seal-ring; a gold coin current in India worth about £ 1-16.

Muhtasib. The overseer of public morality.

Mujahid. One engaged in *Jihad.* (q.v.).

Mujtahid. A man who through learning and piety is able to undertake the interpretation and application of the Islamic law in such a way that his judgments should be followed by others.

Mukti. Governor of a province.

Murid. Disciple.

Mushrif. The officer responsible for keeping the account of the state income during the sultanate.

Mushrif-i-Mumalik. The Accountant-General.

Na'ib. A deputy, lieutenant, or assistant, as in the title, *na'ib wazir*.

Na'ib Wazir. Deputy Minister.

Na'ik. A chief, a native officer, a person well versed in dancing and singing, etc.

Naqshbandiya-Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Khwaja Baha-u'd-din Naqshband (ob. 1179).

Naskh. Abrogation of a Qur'anic verse by a subsequent verse.

Nawab. Originally used for the viceroy or governor of a province of the Mughul empire, but later used simply as a title.

Nazim. Term used for a provincial governor, particularly indicating his function as administrator of the criminal law.

Nizam. A governor, particularly the viceroy of the Deccan.

Nizamiya Silsilah. A branch of the Chishtiya Order, followers of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya of Delhi. See details, pp. 224-225 and pp. 263-264.

Padshah. King, emperor. A title used by the Mughul rulers.

Pargana. A subdivision of the basic administrative unit, the sarkar, made up of a number of villages.

Peshwa. The Chief Minister of the Maratha rulers. The office became hereditary, and in the eighteenth century the peshwa was virtually an independent ruler.

Pir. The head of a *Sufi* order; later, a *Sufi* saint.

Qadriya Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166 A.D.) of Baghdad.

Qalandar. Wandering mendicant dervish, a follower of *Qalandariya* Order.

Qalandariya-Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Shah Khizr Rumi for details see pp. 270-271.

Qari. A reader, especially of the Quran.

Qasida (plural: Qasa'id). A long, usually panegyric, poem, or ode.

Qazi. The judge who administered Islamic law.

Qazi-u'l-Quzat or *Qazi-i-Mumalik*. Chief Justice of the kingdom.

Qiyas. One of the sources of *fiqh*. (q.v.); the process of applying *hadis* (q.v.) to new situations by the use of analogy.

Quran (Koran). For Muslims, the Word of God. The fundamental source of *fiqh* (q.v.) and all rules governing human relationships.

Rabb. Lord, God.

Rahmat. Mercy.

Rai (plural *Rayan*). A Hindu title; a chief; a lord, a prince.

Rani. The consort of a raja, a ranee, a queen.

Sabiri or *Sabiriya Silsilah*. A branch of the Chishtiya Order, followers of Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir of Kalyar. For details see pp. 262-263.

Sadr. Chief or supreme. A term especially used in connection with the chief religious offices. The *Sadr-u'l-Sadur* advised the Mughul emperor on religious matters, controlled religious endowments, and had oversight of educational institutions.

Sanad. A charter or grant.

Sarkar (sircar). A subdivision of a subah or province. The word is also used to mean simply "the government."

Sati. "A true wife." By extension, the term was used for a woman who immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

Sayyid. A chief. Also a name used by those who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad through Hasan and Husain, sons of his daughter Fatima.

Sepoy. A soldier.

Shafi'i. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See *fiqh*.

Shahna (*Shahnah*). A viceroy, head of the Police; a mayor, a governor.

Shahnah-i-Fil. An officer in charge of the stables of royal elephants.

Shahnah-i-Shahr. Governor of the city. The Mayor of the city. The Head of the Police of the city.

Shahr. City.

Shahzada. Prince.

Shaikh (plural: *Shuyukh*). "Old Man." A term used for a *Sufi* (q.v.) who guided disciples. Also used to denote a caste or class among Indian Muslims.

Shar', Shari'a, Shari'at. The law of Islam, comprising all the rules that govern life.

Shattariya Silsilah. A sufi order founded by Shah Abdullah Shattari. For details see pp. 277-279.

Shi'a. The Muslim sect that asserts the leadership of Islam is hereditary in the descendants of 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. It is the dominant group in Iran, and is well represented in India.

Shiqq. In the sultanate, the administrative district corresponding to the later sarkar (q.v.).

Shiqq-dar. The officer in charge of a *Shiqq*.

Shiraz-i-Hind. Shiraz of India. Shiraz—a famous city of Persia known for being a cultural and literary centre in Medieval times.

Shughl. Work, occupation, employment (a medieval term for government service).

Silsilah. Literally "chain," "continuation," used for brother-

hood of *Sufis* following the same techniques of spiritual development.

Sipah. Military.

Sipah-Salar. A military rank during the sultanate, but under Akbar the name was used for a provincial governor.

Subah. The term for the provinces into which the Mughul empire was divided. The *subadar* was the governor. This word was later used for the administrator of a smaller district.

Sufi. An Islamic mystic. Sufism, with its emphasis on the possibility of unity with the divine, was of special importance in winning converts to Islam in India.

Suhrawardiya-Silsilah. A *Sufi* order founded by Shaikh Najb-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi (ob. 1169). For details see pp. 214-216.

Sultan. King, ruler. In its early usage, the term implied dependence on the caliph (q.v.). The Delhi sultans sought recognition from the Abbasid caliphate, and even after its destruction they maintained a nominal connection with the Egyptian ruler, who claimed to be the caliph.

Sultan-ush-Sharq. A title, Sultan of the East.

Suluk. Progress of the mystic towards the attainment of his goal.

Sunna. Practices and precepts of the Prophet.

Sunni. An adherent of the majority, or "orthodox," Islamic sect that accepted the Abbasid rulers as caliphs, in contrast to the *Shi'as* (q.v.).

Tafsir. Explanation. The commentaries on the Quran and the science of its interpretation. *Tafsir* was an important branch of learning in the *madrasas* (q.v.).

Taqwa. Piety.

Tauhid. "Asserting oneness." A theological term that refers to the oneness of God.

Tehsil (tahsil). The collection of land revenue. Later applied to a subdivision of a district.

Top Khana. An artillery; an arsenal.

'Ulama. Learned men, plural of *'alim*. Used particularly for those learned in Islamic studies, or for the theologians who were guardians of Islamic custom (q.v.).

Umara. Nobles. Plural of *amir* (q.v.).

Urdu. Literally, camp. The "camp-language" that grew up through an infusion of Persian, and some Arabic and Turkish, words into Hindi, the language of the Delhi region.

'Urs. Anniversary of a saint.

Usul. Fundamental sciences.

Wahhabi. Follower of the community founded by 'Abdul Wahhab (1703-1787) in Arabia. The aim of the *Wahhabis* is to purify Islam of all innovations and to return to the strict observances of Islamic law. It is the dominant sect in Saudi Arabia. The beliefs of the *Wahhabis*, especially the strong emphasis on the removal of all non-Islamic practices, had considerable influence in India in the ninteenth century.

Wahy. Divine revelation.

Wakil (vakil). The office of the wakil or *Wakil-i-dar* under the sultanate was concerned with the management of the royal household. In the Mughal period, however, the wakil or wakil-i-sultanat, was the chief minister, the post formerly held by the *wazir* (q.v.).

Wakil-u's-Sultani. Wazir, Chief Minister.

Waqf. Pious foundation, mortmain.

Wazir. The chief minister of the Delhi sultans. Under the Mughuls the title was sometimes used for the official in charge of revenue and finance.

Wizarat. The office of the *wazir*.

Zakat. A tax collected from Muslims for charitable purposes.

Zamindar. Literally, "a landholder," from *zamin*, land. Under

the Mughuls he was a revenue official who had no proprietary rights to the land from which he collected taxes.

Zikr. The praise or glorification of God, the recital of His names. Prayer.

Zimmi. A non-Muslim living in a Muslim state. According to a strict interpretation of Islamic law only Jews and Christians were eligible for the status of *zimmi*. Each adult male *zimmi* had to pay *jizya* (q.v.). In practice, when Muslims conquered a country they tolerated others besides the "Peoples of the Scripture." This was particularly true in India, where the Hindus were treated as *zimmis*.

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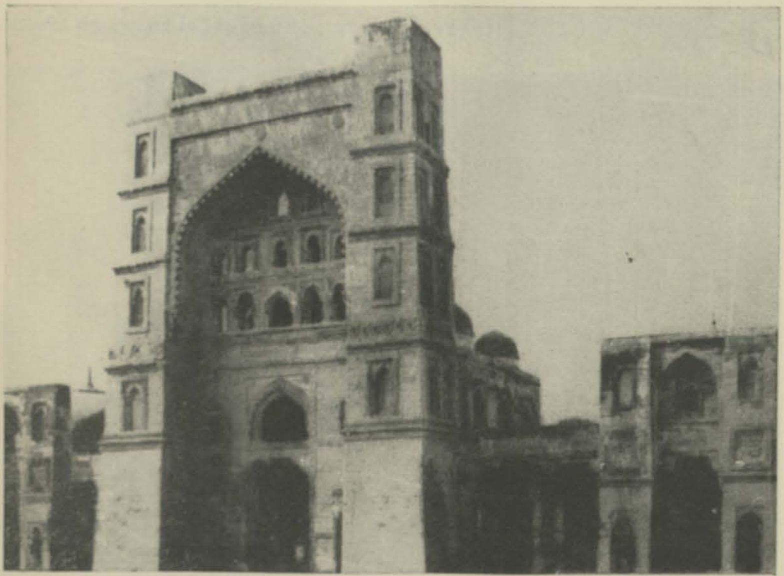
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ILLUSTRATIONS

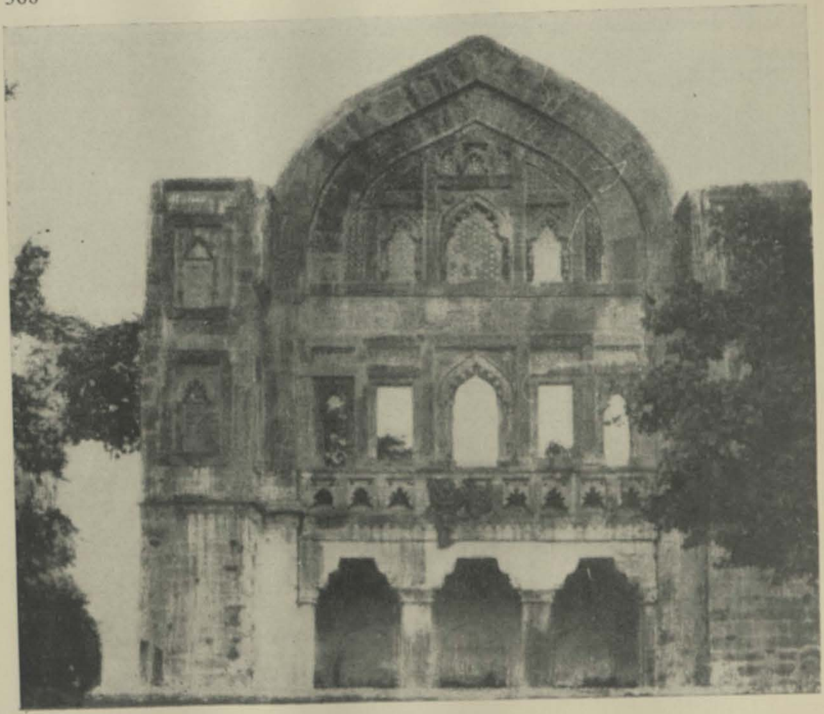
I. Jaunpur: East Gate of the Karar Kot Fort.



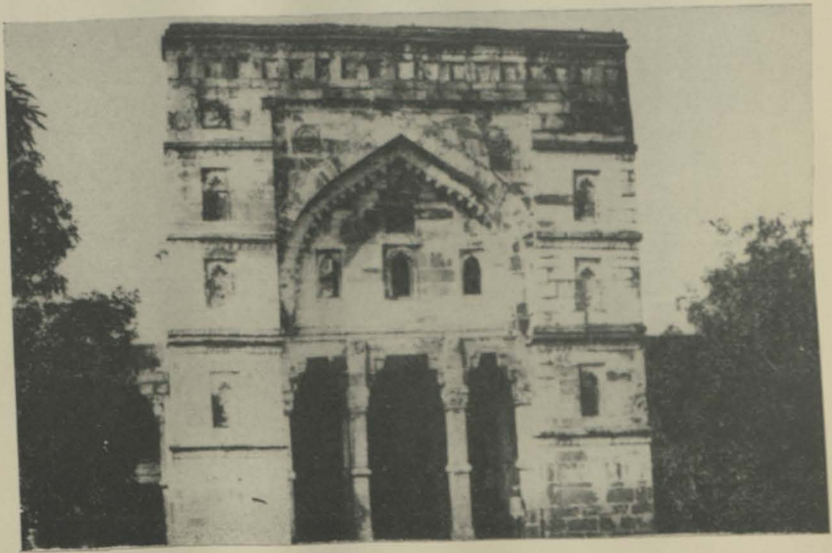
II. Jaunpur: Atala Mosque, General view of the Facade.



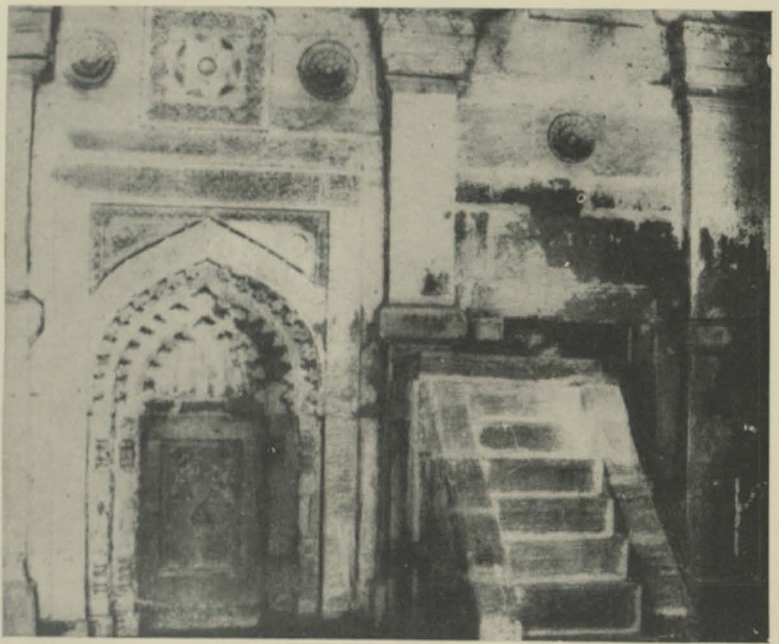
III. Jaunpur: The Jhanjri Mosque.



IV. Jaunpur: Front of Lal Darwazah Mosque.



V. Jaunpur: Interior of Lal Darwazah Mosque.



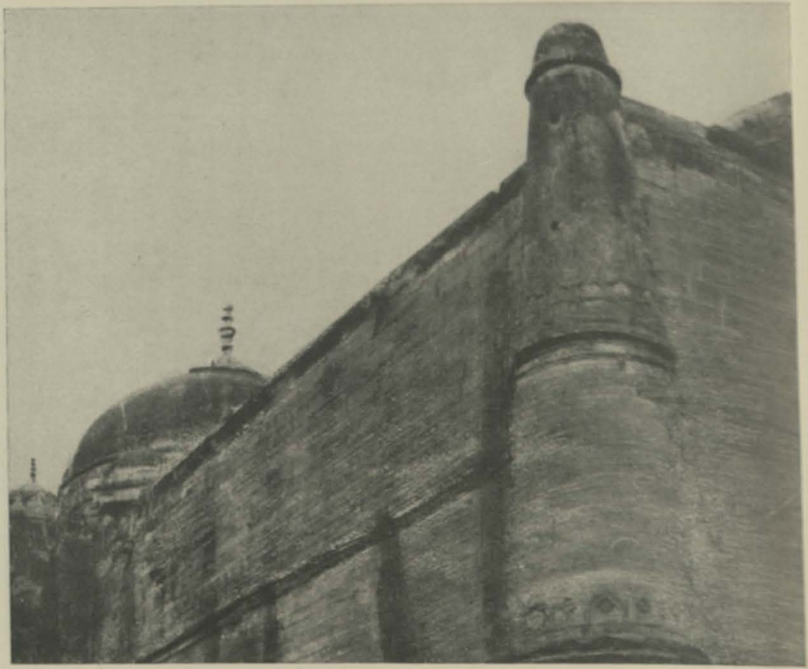
VI. Jaunpur: Jami' Mosque, Facade.



VII. Jaunpur: Jami' Mosque, North Exterior.



VIII. Jaunpur: Jami' Mosque, South-West Exterior.



IX. Jaunpur: Stone Bridge over the Gumti, whose foundations were originally laid by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.



X. The Colophon of the manuscript of the Kalpasutra which denotes that the manuscript was written in Vikrama Samvat 1522 (1465 A.D.) at Yavanpur (Jaunpur) in the reign of Husain Shah by the order of Harshini Sravika.



Figs. 1 and 2

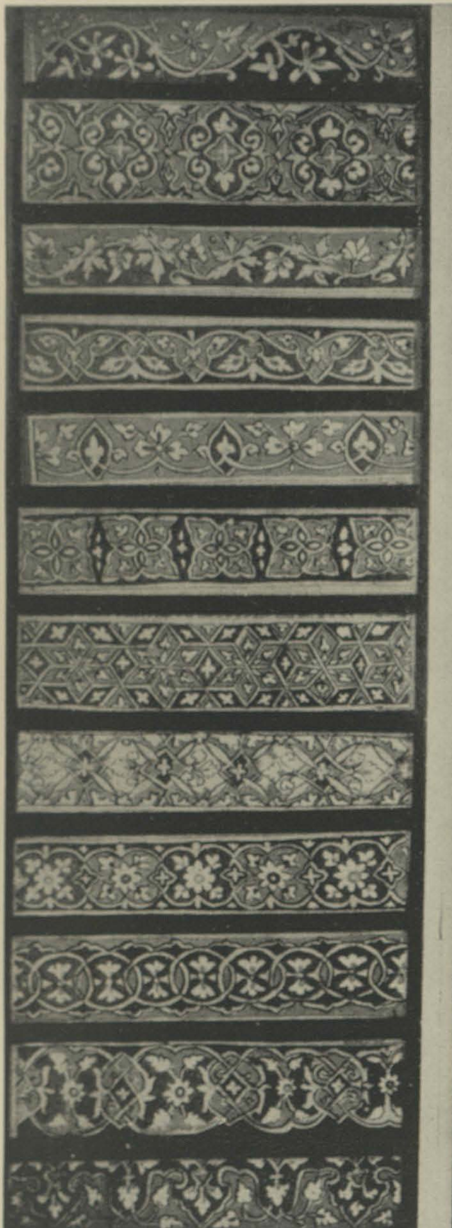


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

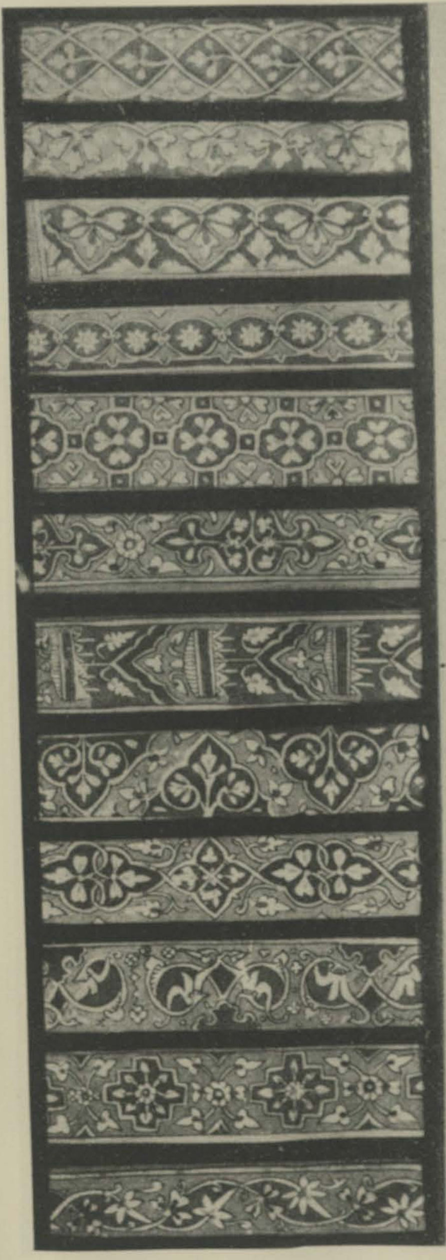


Fig. 5

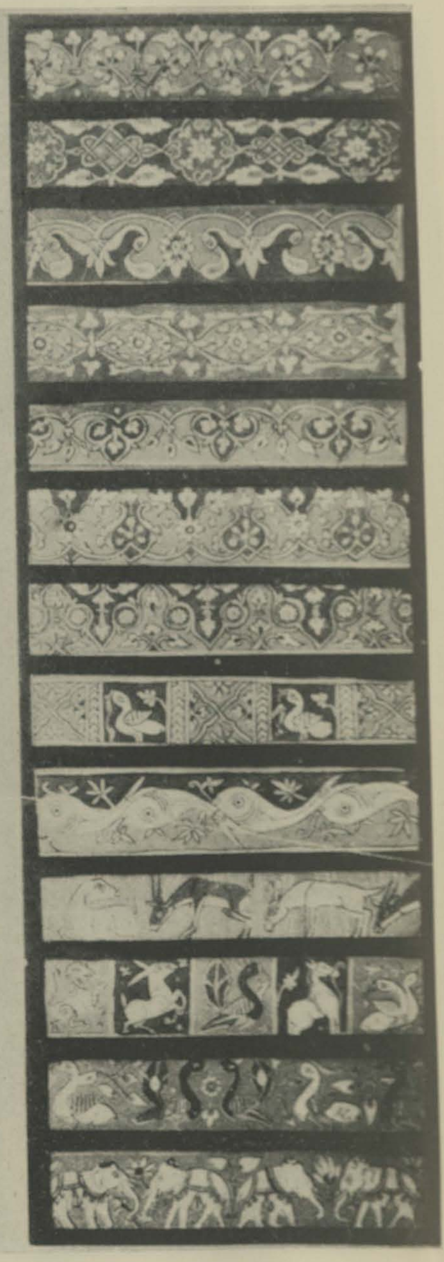


Fig. 6

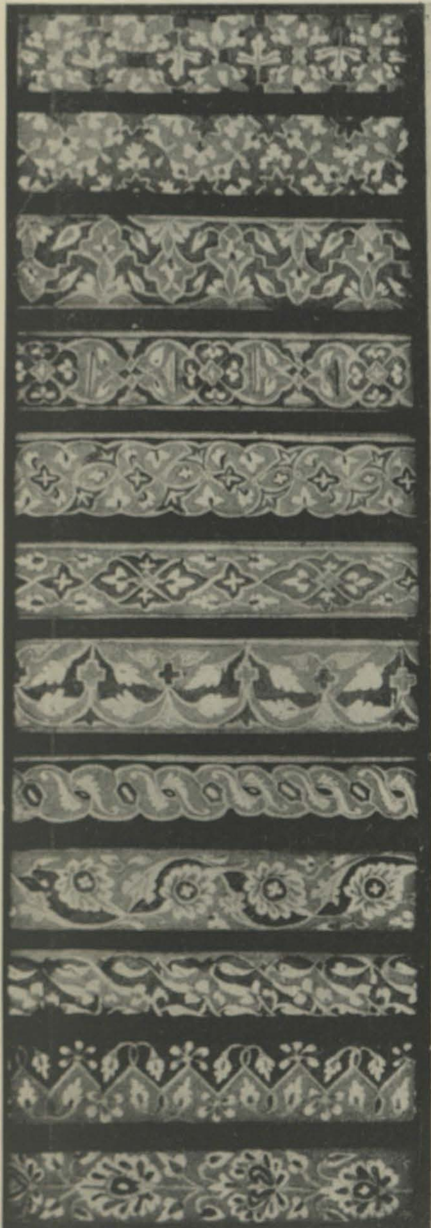


Fig. 7

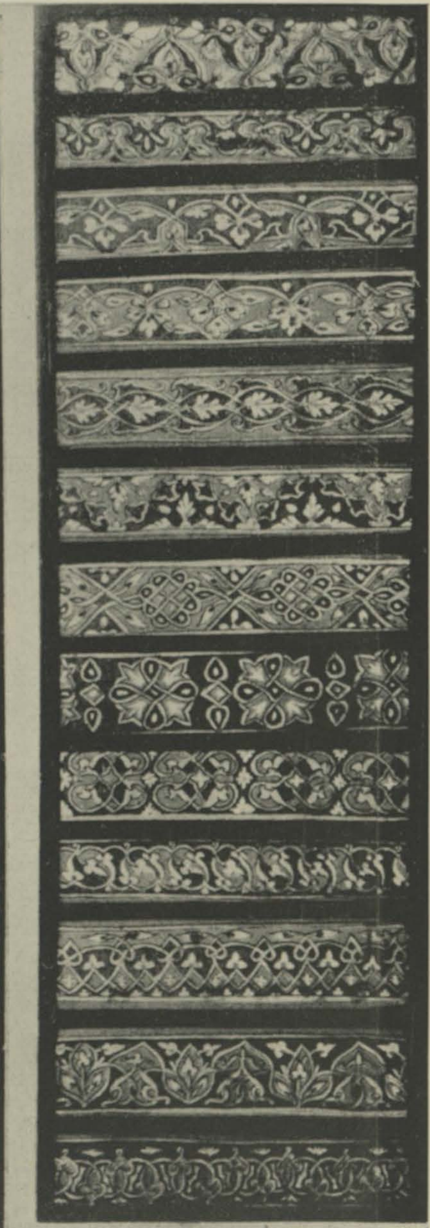


Fig. 8



Fig. 9

XV. Fourteen Dreams of Devananda.

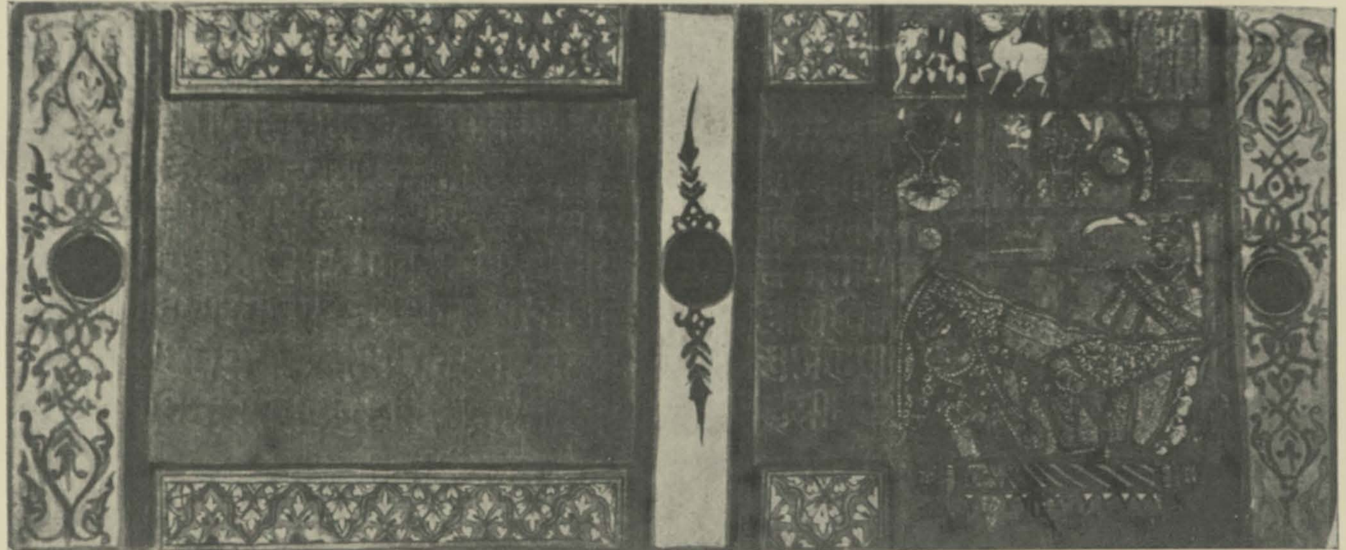


Fig. 10

XVI

Duel between Bharata and his brother Bahubali.



Fig. 11

Kosa Dance and an Episode of Irya Samiti.



Fig. 12

Indra Holding an Umbrella over Aryadharma.



Fig. 13

Four Sanghas Worshipping at the Nirvana of Mahavira



Fig. 14

Grief of Trisala at the Immobility of the Foetus.



Fig. 15

KEY TO PLATES XVIII AND XIX

XVIII

1. 830 A.H. 2. 831 A.H. 3. 842 A.H.
4. 846 A.H.
5. 870 A.H.

XIX

1. 1st Size — 825 A.H.
2. 2nd Size — 843 A.H.
3. 3rd Size — 803 A.H.

4., 5., 6. Type I:

4. 1st Size — 847 A.H.
5. 2nd Size — 844 A.H.
5. 3rd Size — 858 A.H.

7., 8. Type II:

7. 1st Size — 860 A.H.
8. 2nd Size — 849 A.H.

9. 1st Size — 862 A.H.
10. 2nd Size — 862 A.H.

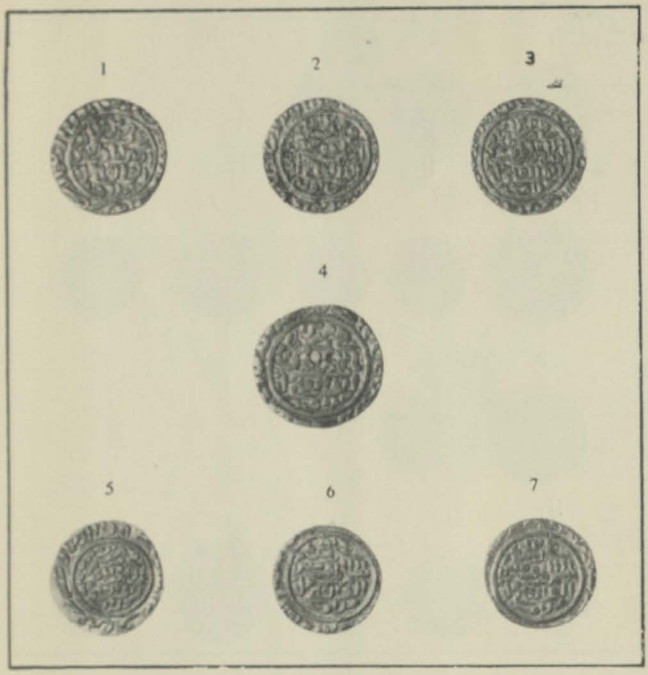
11, 12, 13. Type I:

11. 1st Size — 909 A.H.
12. 2nd Size — 887 A.H.
13. 3rd Size

14., 15. Type II:

14. 1st Size — 864 A.H.
15. 2nd Size

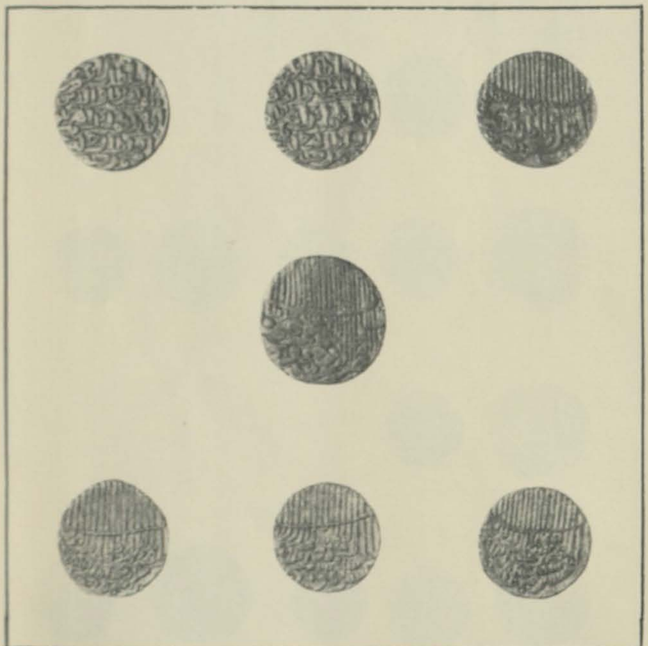
Obverse



Sultan
Ibrahim Shah]
Sharqi

Sultan
Mahmud Shah
Sharqi

Sultan
Husain Shah
Sharqi



Sultan
Ibrahim Shah
Sharqi

Sultan
Mahmud Shah
Sharqi

Sultan
Hussain Shah
Sharqi

Reverse

XIX. The Bullion and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultans.

Obverse

Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi

Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi

Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi

Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi

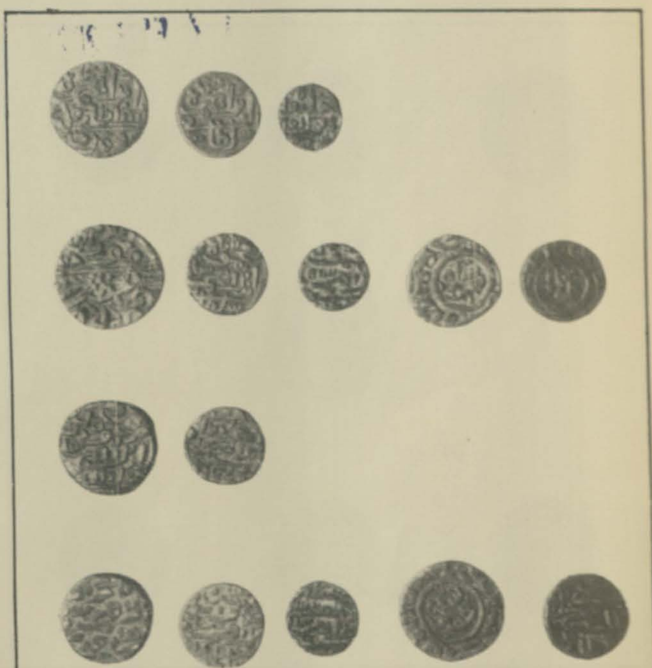


Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi

Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi

Sultan Muhammad Shah Sharqi

Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi



Reverse

"In the study of the history of the Muslims in India much attention has been paid to the activities of the Sultans of Delhi and of their successors, the Mughul emperors. Fewer scholarly studies have been made of the numerous so-called "provincial" Muslim Sultanates, which contributed as much as or perhaps more to the development of Islamic culture in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent than did the rulers of Delhi and Agra.....

"One such Sultanate was that of Jaunpur....Its greatness lasted for less than one hundred years, but in that time it made a very significant impression upon the life and culture of the region which its Sultan governed. The remains of splendid mosques and other buildings erected by the Sharqi Sultans are still to be seen, and many important Muslim scholars and religious teachers found patronage at their courts.

"....Dr. M. M. Saeed....has produced a sound and comprehensive study of this very important Sultanate, which has generally been inadequately treated by earlier writers on Muslim India. His work is written with scholarly thoroughness and evident sympathy for his theme. It forms a really important contribution to our knowledge of the period, and I commend it to all students of Mediaeval India."

From the Preface by Prof. A.L. Basham